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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND STUDENT ALIENATION

by

WILLIAM NEAL REPETOWSKI

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

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(signed) Bill Repetowski

Date October 11, 1989

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Expectation of Unemployment and Student Alienation," submitted by William Neal Repetowski in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in the Department of Educational Foundations.

.....John Young.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date October 11....1989

ABSTRACT

This study examined the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation. An unemployment questionnaire was completed by 215 University of Alberta students which included the following measures: Dean's "Powerlessness scale", Srole's "Anomie scale", and Nettler's "Social Isolation scale". Based on the Marxian idea of reification, it was hypothesized that those students who anticipated the high possibility of unemployment would experience alienation as powerlessness, meaninglessness and/or social isolation.

The perception of "reification" or "alienation from product" by students expecting high unemployment was related to their total alienation scores. The degree that unemployment prevented control over a student's economic destiny was measured by Dean's Powerlessness scale. Srole's Anomie scale measured the extent that the possibility of unemployment was related to meaninglessness. This measure is based on a student's comprehension of market laws of supply and demand. Nettler's Social Isolation scale was used to determine the level of social isolation experienced by students if they perceive that unemployment prevents association with professionals who could "fashion" an individual on entering their careers.

Overall, results confirmed the hypothesis that expectation of unemployment leads to alienation. In all alienation measures; total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation is direct and significance reached at the .05 level or better. However, significance was not reached at .05 for the relationship between expectation of unemployment and social isolation.

Control variables were introduced into the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation. In all cases, the relationship is direct and not changed by introducing faculty, sex, age and social class into the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation. Contrary to expectations, results show that students from the Faculty of Business score higher on an alienated scale than students from the Faculty of Education. Results also show that females are more alienated than males, notably so, in the relationship between expectation of unemployment and powerlesssness. Contrary to previous research findings which show that powerlessness increases with advancing age, results in this study show that powerlessness decreases with advancing age. As to class influences, results show that professional parent's children expect low unemployment and score lower on all measures of alienation than do unskilled or skilled parent's children.

It is concluded that further studies examining the relationship between unemployment and student alienation are needed to validate the Marxian idea of reification and to disentangle the consequences of unemployment.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Problem

One of the most critical issues in Canada's capitalist economy today is unemployment. Research indicates that unemployment may lead to alienation. Inasmuch as alienation is related to problems such as marital breakdown (Atkinson, Liem & Liem, 1986), suicide and health (Jahoda et al., 1933; Reigle, 1982), drug and alcohol abuse (Braginsky & Braginsky, 1975; Carle, 1987; Liem & Raymond, 1982) divorce, murder and high crime rates (Jahoda, 1979; Kamarovsky, 1940; Mullen, 1986) generally, high unemployment has serious implications for students registered at the University of Alberta, who upon completion of their studies, may encounter high unemployment in their chosen fields. As high unemployment is a contemporary fact in Alberta's capitalist economy the question for research is: to what extent does the high expectation of unemployment lead to alienation among these students?

Nature and Purpose of the Study

Following Marx, Israel (1971) has argued that much of the alienation experienced in capitalist society is due to reification or alienation from product. "Reification"

refers to a social process through which the works of men have become objects. Central to this idea is the distinction between the "use" and the "exchange-values" of objects. For instance, an object used for fulfilling basic needs is not a commodity, but has use-value for humans. When a object has been transformed into a commodity, it acquires exchange-value. Thus an object transformed into a commodity is simply "an object, the value of which is determined not by need but rather by impersonal laws of the market" (p. 53).

Israel identifies certain structural factors that have contributed to reification under the capitalist market system. Two of the most important are the "market" and bureaucracy. Viewing the market from Marx's standpoint on "fetishism of commodities", Israel points out that the capitalist market economy has the tendency to transform everything into commodities, even man himself. Israel (1971:x) states:

> man becomes labour power or a "production factor"...as labour-power he is a "seller" on the market, but the tendency is to treat him as an object, as labour-power, no more, no less.

If this is true, then it may be assumed that students pursuing careers at post-secondary institutions are essentially preparing themselves as commodities, as labour-power for future labour force participation. Their "use" and "exchange-values" will be determined by market forces of supply and demand.

To illustrate, if high unemployment in some professions exists and the supply of labour (commodities) is large, exchange-values (based on demand) will be low, as this type of labour is not a sought-after commmodity. The likelihood that highly trained people will be unemployed in certain professions means that many students, blocked from participating in their chosen occupations, will experience the effects of unemployment in terms of alienation, or as feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. Pursuing Marxist thought, since students may have to find jobs outside their professions, the product, i.e., the student's "labour-power", will be appropriated by those who own the "means of production" according to market laws of supply and demand. Work, rather than providing for self-realization, will only serve survival needs. Due to the reifying tendency of the market to transform everything into commodities, the producer loses all individuality, lacking control over how or for what purposes his labour-power, the product, is used. Under such conditions, it is clear that the products produced can turn against their creators. In other words, the capitalist market system reifies human existence to the point that the product of man's creation:

> ...exists independently, outside himself, i.e. outside his control, and alien to him, and stands opposed to him as an autonomous power (Schacht, 1970, p. 85).

A second factor causing reification according to Israel's analysis is bureaucracy with its inherent division of labour. Bureaucracy has been developed to organize and facilitate the smooth operation of the capitalist market system. However, the bureaucratic structure influences and reifies individuals involved in commodity production due to the division of labour that exists within it. For example, because all work is dissected into partial operations, man produces commodities in isolation. As an object, he becomes a small "cog" in an immense bureaucratic machine and neither comprehends the total production process nor is he conscious of the fact that he is merely a cog. According to Israel (1971) man is utilized as a mere "production factor" in the process of production, to increase capitalist wealth rather than to realize individual potential. Israel argues that bureaucracy with its inherent division of labour, causes the experience of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation because "man becomes a mechanical part of a mechanical system" (p. 280).

As mentioned earlier, unemployment can produce similar feelings of alienation. The question here is whether the intensity of the alienation produced by unemployment, can be anticipated by determining students' expectations of unemployment in their chosen professions. This idea is based on Rotter's (1954) notion that human behavior can be assesed in terms of "expectancies". Rotter's research

shows that..."(b)ehavior in a certain situation is a function of the subject's expectancy that his behavior in the situation will lead to a reward which is of a certain reinforcement value to the subject in the situation" (Mouledoux, 1974, p. 15). Assuming that this is true and that man's consciousness in fact reflects the "profile of the market" (whether he is conscious of it or not), then the degree of alienation produced by unemployment among students may be influenced by their expectations. Students may feel powerless when they lack control or influence over economic processes, i.e., being unable to find work in a chosen profession. Feelings of meaninglessness may be expressed when students, who lack comprehension of the total production process, i.e., market laws of supply and demand, experience "uncertainty" about finding jobs in their profession based on their educational training. Finally, social isolation or isolation from others may be experienced when students are unable to find work providing social relations with others who are employed and hold the values synonymous with that chosen profession. Although these dimensions of alienation can be "applied to as broad or as narrow a range of social behaviors as seems useful" (Seeman, 1959, p. 788), the above definitions constitute a multidimensional conceptualization of alienation, that is, that powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation are dimensions of reification (alienation from product).

Since the sample in this study consists of university

students who are unemployed, the unemployment variable will be measured in terms of their "expectation" to be unemployed after graduation. As there is no research concerning the effects of unemployment on students pursuing higher education, the purpose of this study is to determine whether a relationship exists between the expectation of unemployment and alienation.

Hypotheses

Four hypotheses are used to test the relationship between high expectations of unemployment and alienation. It is hypothesized that:

H0 "Those individuals who anticipate high unemployment in their chosen professions will be the ones who will experience "alienation".

H1 "Those individuals who anticipate high unemployment in their chosen professions will be the ones who will experience "powerlessness".

H2 "Those individuals who anticipate high unemployment in their chosen professions will be the ones who will experience "meaninglessness".

H3 "Those individuals who anticipate high unemployment in their chosen professions will be the ones who will experience "social isolation".

In the first situation, that of alienation (H0), it is proposed that the expectation of unemployment is directly related to alienation when viewed as "reification". As mentioned previously, where the possibility exists of

becoming a "production factor", a commodity with exchange-value, it is proposed that students will find work in their professions as long as the demand exists and therefore their perception of being alienated from product will be low. Conversly, if the supply of labour is large, but there are a finite number of positions available in a certain profession, the liklihood of experiencing alienation from one's own product (self) due to unemployment, may be high.

In terms of powerlessness (H1), it is proposed that a high expectation of unemployment is positively associated with high levels of alienation when individuals perceive that they have no control over outcomes regarding their future employment. Specifically, high expectations of unemployment could be evaluated in terms of powerlessness when opportunities for securing work in a chosen profession are blocked. Also, where this perception influences a person's feelings of power to control or influence economic processes, i.e., market laws of supply and demand regarding employment the same outcome can be anticipated. Conversly, student's perceptions of powerlessness will be lower when prospects of employment in their field are good, leading them to feel some control over their economic destiny.

Where meaninglessness (H2) is concerned, it is proposed that high expectations of unemployment should influence students' attitudes if they lack comprehension about market forces regarding employment in their chosen

profession. However, the intensity of the feeling of meaninglessness will depend on the availability of jobs and how this situation influences a student's expectations of unemployment. Thus, high expectations of unemployment will cause intense feelings of meaninglessness if students are unable to comprehend market laws of supply and demand in terms of their chosen professions. Conversely, expectations of unemployment should have less influence in terms of meaninglessness if students comprehend events related to market forces that enable them to find work in their chosen fields.

Viewing alienation in terms of social isolation (H3), high expectations of unemployment should have less influence on students' attitudes if they anticipate that future employment will mean a low degree of separation from others in the profession that they expect to enter. Conversely, if students have high expectations of unemployment in their career choice, it is expected that high levels of social isolation will be experienced, as students will be isolated from others who could influence and guide them in successfully entering their careers.

Assumptions

1. First, it is assumed that in terms of reification, students are essentially preparing themselves as "a product and a commodity" in anticipating future labour-force participation. As such, their exchange-values will be

determined by market laws of supply and demand.

2. The "interdependence" between the individual and society is assumed. Here, it is assumed that structural conditions inherent in the market, i.e., unemployment, create subjective "states of alienation". For example, because the educational sector is characterized by higher unemployment rates than the business sector, it is assumed that students registered in the Faculty of Education will have higher expectations of unemployment and therefore experience higher levels of alienation than students registered in the Faculty of Business.

3. It is assumed that Dean's, Srole's and Nettler's alienation scales were sufficient to measure the type of alienation experienced in expecting unemployment, even though the scales may be dated at the present time.

4. It is assumed that since data collection occurred at examination time in the latter part of the first semester of the winter session and in the beginning of the second semester after Christmas vacation, similar alienation levels would be reflected by all participants in their responses to the questionnaire items. In other words, completing the questionnaire during exams as opposed to after the holiday season would not affect alienation produced by an expectation of unemployment in a chosen profession. This assumption is based on Marx's idea that "no-one is immune to alienation in a capitalist society", that its impact is a constant, experienced whether we are conscious of it or not, and that generally, human existance

under a capitalist "mode of production" is at best an alienated one.

5. Following Marx's customary usage of the words "he" or "man" when referring to gender, in this thesis it is assumed that the words include both sexes.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study lies in the following contributions: (1) insight into how unemployment causes alienation, i.e., its impact on students about to enter a workforce where high unemployment exists; (2) an indication of the degree and type of alienation experienced in perceiving unemployment among students preparing for careers in industry; (3) insight into the link between objective/subjective conditions and between objective conditions and social pathologies; (4) insight into how the Marxian theory of alienation can be operationalized; (5) an indication of the type of career programs and processes that could be implemented to decrease alienation for students planning to work in professions.

Organization Of The Thesis

Chapter I presented an introduction, a theoretical framework, the purpose of the study, hypothesis, assumptions, the significance of the study and the organization of the thesis. Chapter II presents a review of the literature, focusing on work, unemployment and how capitalist economies reinforce and promote alienation in

terms of reification. This discussion is based on the assumption that society and the individual are interdependent. Finally, empirical literature is examined, focusing on the link between unemployment and alienation in terms of powerlesssness, meaninglessness and social isolation. Chapter III examines how the assumption of interdependence underlies the rationale for the instruments used to measure alienation. The remaining chapters are devoted to research methodology. Chapter IV deals with experimental design, method, and statistical procedures. Chapter V reports the results of statistical findings and an interpretation of these results. A final summary of the study, its significance to other studies and its implications for further research comprise Chapter VI.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

With the publication in 1932 of Marx's Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (EPM) written in 1844, Marxian theory became the focus of increased attention among scholars. This renewed interest in Marxism is due in part to the fact that it offers an all-embracing explanation of our problem-ridden society and alienation in particular. In fact, alienation provides a key to a clear understanding of the whole Marxian system, as alienation relates to a critique of capitalism.

For Marx, man's most important life activity is self-creation. Marx focuses on man's power to create his own world and, more importantly, himself through work. Marx claims that individuals who are denied the experience of efficacy through work for self-realization and self-evaluation become alienated from product, process, species-being and others. Because work which does not provide for self-realization is alienated labour, unemployment, which also cuts off opportunities for self-realization, represents the ultimate in man's alienation from his product and labour, producing a sense of powerlessness, a break between man and his product, meaninglessness, he lacks comprehension of the total process of production and isolation from others.

Since this study explores what impact unemployment, a fact in the current Alberta economy, has on students about to enter professions in terms of reification and its components of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation the following review will consist of the following sections.

Section I focuses on Marx's idea of work in terms of: (a) "alienated labour"; (b) Marx's interpretation of alienation; (c) "non-alienated" labour.

Section II examines: (a) Marx's change from the theory of alienation to the theory of reification making it possible to determine the impact of unemployment in terms of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation; and (b) The Marxian theory of reification as interpreted by Israel (1971).

Section III reviews the theories of Seeman (1959) and Nettler (1957), explaining how structural conditions create alienated states of human consciousness i.e., the rationale behind the instruments used to measure the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced from unemployment. This review will not only provide support for the theoretical convergences discussed in sections I and II, but will also enable testing of hypotheses regarding the direct relationship between unemployment and alienation in Chapter IV.

Self-realization: Marx's Theory of Work

In all societies the work role is central for man. Work provides a means for survival, and it also supplies the fundamental initiatives for an individual's self-realization. This idea is expressed in the sociological writings of Marx (1844) in which work is viewed as man's most important life activity.

For Marx, working reflects man's specific character as a species - "it is the life of the species" (Marx, EPM, 1977, p. 73). Through work, man can create his world and himself (Israel, 1971, p. 48). On the one hand, a sense of self could be derived from the self's behavior as an active agent in the environment. As Marx states, "the products of activity reflect man's nature, and form the basis for self-evaluations" (Marx, 1963, p. 128). On the other hand, man can release his full human potential through productive and cooperative activity and thereby partially control his own social destiny by controlling his products and labour, experiencing himself as an active and conscious subject as opposed to a passive object. Marx claims that man could accomplish this goal in cooperation and genuine fellowship with other men, to create a "truly human society".

The importance of the self as an active and causal agent becomes apparent in the absence of such a self under conditions of "alienated labour".

Alienated Labour

The alienation of labour is for Marx a process which takes place, not exclusively in the intellectual or spiritual realm, but also in the world of man's physical existence and material production. "Alienated labour" is "imposed" upon some men by others, when labour is "forced labour" as opposed to free creative activity. Furthermore, what is produced by the worker is appropriated by others--"the masters of the system of production". This condition of economic alienation was for Marx the most important historical factor separating man's 'essence' from his existence. In fact, he considered this type of alienation "to be fundamental inasmuch as work was man's fundamental activity" (Bottomore & Nisbet, 1978, p. 106).

Marx saw labour in its principal form as the interchange between man and nature, as an historically developing process during which man changes himself and his society in the course of changing nature. By analysing the stages of development of labour and production in different historical epochs Marx was able to deduce how different forms of production corresponded to specific forms of society. Although Marx viewed the historical process in positive terms, i.e., he saw the social history of mankind as evolving to "higher forms" of society, he considered that under capitalism the development of social relations of production had not taken the form of a cooperative,

communal effort to improve productive forces in order to dominate nature more effectively but rather, social labour had become alienated labour. According to Marx alienated labour means that:

> ...man had forfeited to someone or something that was essential to his nature - principally to be in control of his own activities, to be the initiator of the historical process (McLellan, 1971, p. 106).

For Marx then, the "relations of production" constitute the core of social analysis. How men are related to each other in the process of production is determined by their relation to property. Within capitalism ownership of property divides society into two main classes: the bourgeoisie (the masters who owned the means and instruments of production) and the proletariat (those who have only wage labour to sell in order to survive). Marx saw the bourgeoisie as exploiting the worker's labour-power and appropriating the products to increase profits, whereas the worker was stripped of any meaningful relationship to his product or activity and gained only enough money to provide for his "means of subsistence".

Overall, for Marx, capitalist organization was based on asymmetrical and antagonistic relations of production, the relationship of masters and workers to ownership of private property. Under capitalism, alienated labour means that a man's relation to his activity, product and others prevent him from self-realization.

Marx's Concept of Alienation

Marx aimed to understand "the essential connection of private property, selfishness, the separation of labour, capital and landed property, of exchange and competition, of the value and degradation of man, of monopoly and competition (and)...the connection of all this alienation with the money system" (McLellan, 1971, p. 109). After analyzing capitalist political economy, Marx concluded that "the labour process constituted the area of man's fundamental alienation" (EPM, 1977, p. 70), the dehumanization of man. However, man not only was separated from process, his activity was foreign to him, but also from product, which actually came to dominate him, from the human species, from his true nature, and finally from others, this defines his asymmetrical social relations with others. The examination of these relations will begin with the worker's relationship to the objects of production, which will highlight how he becomes alienated from the product.

Alienation from Product

Marx proposes that it is man's nature to be the controller of his own destiny and that via self-control he can develop his potential by transforming the world outside himself in cooperation with his fellow man. However, under the capitalist system, man loses control to initiate his

own self-realization because he himself has been turned into a passive object. Consequently, man's nature, to objectify himself in objects, is no longer under his control since the product is appropriated by others. Not only does the objectification of labour represent a loss to the worker but it also represents "servitude to the object". As Marx states:

> The realization of labour is its objectification. In the sphere of political economy this realization appears as a loss of reality for the worker, objectification as loss of and bondage to the object, and appropriation as estrangement, as alienation [Entausserung] (Early Writings, 1974, p. 234).

That is, when the products are appropriated by the other man, objectification represents the alienation or separation of the worker from what he produces. As well, in the productive process, man's labour becomes as much an object as the raw materials he transforms into commodities, since labour is now bought and sold. The more objects the worker produces, the fewer he can possess as his own, and therefore the greater is the loss of himself to the point of dying of starvation. As Marx says, "the worker puts his life into the object and his life then belongs no longer to himself but to the object" (Stumpf, 1975, p. 412). When objects are appropriated, Marx writes "the worker is related to the product of his labour as to an alien object.. The object he produces does not belong to him, but dominates him, and only serves in the long run to increase

his poverty" (McLellan, 1971, p. 107). In this way, what should be the balanced relationship between man and nature is destroyed through the alienation from man of the products of his labour. Marx appropriately sums up alienation from product:

> This fact simply means that the object labour produces its product, stands opposed to it as <u>something alien</u>, as a <u>power independent</u> of the producer....so much does appropriation of the object appear as estrangement that the more objects the worker produces the fewer he can possess and the more he falls under the domination of his product, of capital (EPM, 1977, p. 64).

Alienation from Process

Having discussed the relationship of the worker to the products of his labour, Marx distinguished three other characteristics of alienated man. The first is that the worker becomes alienated in "the act of production", within the producing activity itself. As Marx states:

> If then the product of labour is alienation, production itself must be active alienation, the alienation of activity, the activity of alienation (EPM, 1977, p. 70)

What then constitutes the alienation of labour? Marx discusses three ways in which the nature of labour's productive activity further reinforces man's loss of self and a sense of alienation. First, labour is external to the worker and not part of his intrinsic nature. This work is neither a vehicle through which man can develop his

fullest physical and mental capacities, nor one through which he can attain happiness or well-being. Instead, he denies himself, he is unhappy, he "mortifies his body and ruins his mind" (EPM, 1977, p. 71). As a consequence, man only feels like a human being outside his work during his leisure hours.

Following Marx, McLellan (1971) points to another factor that reinforces man's alienation from his activity. Namely that "...work is not voluntary, but rather is 'forced' and 'imposed' labour" (p. 73). Since activity is imposed from without, man does not work for satisfaction of intrinsic needs. Rather his work "is merely a 'means' to satisfy needs external to it" (EPM, 1977, p. 71). As Marx argues, "(i)ts alien character emerges clearly in the fact that as soon as no physical or other compulsion exists, labour is shunned like the plague" (EPM, 1977, pp. 110-111).

A final aspect of this type of alienation is that man's activity belongs to another. What this means is that the worker's activity does not belong to him, but rather to someone else. This results in a reversion of man's human functions back to animal functions. As Marx states: "man (the worker) only feels himself freely active in his animal functions - eating, drinking, procreating - in his [distinctly] human functions he no longer feels himself to be anything but an animal. What is animal becomes human and what is human becomes animal" (EPM, 1977, p. 71). Marx

appropriately sums up alienation from process stating:

> This relation is the relation of the worker to his own activity as an alien activity not belonging to him: it is activity as suffering, strength as weakness, begetting as emasculating, the worker's own physical and mental energy, his personal life - for what is life but activity - as an activity which is turned against him, independent of him and not belonging to him. Here we have self-estrangement as previously we had the estrangement of the thing (EPM, 1977, p. 72).

Alienation from Species

Marx not only considered man alienated from the product of his labour, and from the act of production, but he also derived a third characteristic of alienated labour from the two already discussed: man was alienated from his species-being, from his truly human nature. In this connection, the two defining characteristics of species-being are self-consciousness and universality. Here Marx states:

> Man is a species-being not only because he practically and theoretically makes the species - both his own and those of other things - his objects, but also - and this is simply another way of saying the same thing - because he looks upon himself as the present, living species, because he looks upon himself as a universal and therefore free being (EPM, 1977, pp. 72-73; McLellan, 1971, p. 111).

The "universality" of man appears in practice where man can appropriate and utilize the whole realm of inorganic nature for himself. "Admittedly", Marx says, "animals also produce but man on the other hand produces

universally and freely: that is, in the manner that is applicable and understandable to all human beings" (EPM, 1977, p. 74). For example, man, in contrast to animals, can produce the whole world of science, literature and art. The object of labour is therefore the objectification of man's "species-life". Or as he states "...man objectifies himself not only in the realm of ideas but also actively in seeing his own reflection in a world that he has created" (EPM. 1977, p. 74). The uniqueness of the human species is that life is lost when man's labour is alienated. Inasmuch as the object of labour is appropriated, so too is man torn away from his species-life; from his free and spontaneous activity and creativity. His species-life, now separated from spontaneity and creativity, is transformed simply into a means of physical existence. In short, the alienation of labour transforms the species-life of man into an alien form of being and thus alienates man from his own human life. As Marx sums up:

> Estranged labour turns thus: Man's species-being, both nature and his spiritual species-property, into a being alien to him, into a means for his individual existence. It estranges from man his own body, as well as external nature and his spiritual aspect, his human aspect (EPM, 1977, p. 74; Early Writings, 1975, p. 329).

Alienation from Others

From the first three aspects of alienation Marx abstracted a fourth: man's alienation from others. He

states:

> In general, the statement that man is alienated from his species-being means that one man is alienated from another as each of them is alienated from the human essence. The alienation of man and generally of every relationship in which he stands is first realized and expressed in the relationship which stands men to other men. Thus in the situation of alienated labour each man measures his relationship to other men by the relationship in which he finds himself placed as a worker (Early Writings, 1975, p. 330; EPM, 1977, p. 75; McLellan, 1971, p. 111).

The fact that man's product as well as his activity is alien to him suggests that man is alienated from others when another man controls his product and his activity.

The breakdown in man's relations to other men is similar to man's alienation from the products of his labour. Under conditions of alienated labour, each worker sees the other as an object whose labour can be exchanged on the market as with other products. As an object, "commodity man" is not considered to be a member of the full human species. Therefore, Marx's conclusion that man's species-nature is alienated from him means that "...each man is estranged from the other, as each of them is from man's essential nature" (EPM, 1977, p. 75).

Marx asks, "If the product of labour is alien to me...to whom does it belong?" (EPM, 1977, p. 75). In an earlier age when religion predominated it was thought that the products belonged to the gods. But Marx contends that the product of alienated labour can only belong to man

himself, and therefore "...self-alienation can only appear through the practical, real relationship to other men" (McLellan, 1971, p. 112). What this means is that if the product does not belong to the worker, it must belong to a man other than the worker--the capitalist. Marx explains why:

> Just as he creates his own production as a loss of his reality, as his punishment; his own product as a loss, as a product not belonging to him; so he creates the domination of the person who does not produce over production and over the product. Just as he estranges his own activity from himself, so he confers upon the stranger an activity which is not his own (EPM, 1977, pp. 76-77).

Thus, Marx suggests that production of objects by alienated labour creates not only a new relationship between the worker and another man and labour, but also, produces private property since "...private property is both a product of labour and also the 'means' by which this labour is alienated, of the external relation of the worker to nature and himself" (Early Writings, 1975, p. 331).

Summary

Marx's theory of alienation has led Marxist followers to insist that individuals must have opportunities for securing work where conditions allow for self-efficacy, so that man is not prevented from becoming self-actualized (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983). Following Marx, Gecas & Schwalbe state:

> ...it is the consequences of our actions that constitute the bases of our knowledge of the environment, and especially, of ourselves. We come to know ourselves, and to evaluate ourselves, from actions and their consequences and from our accomplishments and the products of our efforts. This provides the primary basis for the experience of self-efficacy....In short, human beings derive a sense of self...from the consequences and products of behavior that are attributed to the self as an agent in the environment (p. 79).

As young people are becoming more concerned with obtaining satisfying careers which correspond to their educational training, the demand for meaningful employment is increasing. However, with future technological change there could be "...a progressive decrease in average skill level of jobs, associated with a reduced supply of jobs" (Windschuttle, 1979). If this is true, some students are likely to have unrealistic "rising expectations", of securing employment in their chosen professions.

Therefore, it is important that the work secured will provide students with a degree of freedom and autonomy, allowing opportunities not only to control one's own destiny but also to have social relations with others who can influence and guide them in successfully entering their careers. On the other hand, if students are prevented from finding work in their chosen professions, alienation may occur.

As mentioned in Chapter I, if high unemployment prevents students from working in the fields they may not

only have to surrender themselves to the market, i.e., "dispose of" their labour-power to provide for a means of subsistence, but they would be powerless to control their own social and economic destiny. In other words, unemployment would prevent self-evaluation attained from the accomplishments and products of one's own efforts, since a student's product, namely his training and talents would be appropriated by those who own the means of production. In effect, individuals would have no control over their product, work activity nor the possibility of having significant others guide and influence them on entering their careers.

If individuals are forced to forfeit control over their own economic and social destiny it is understandable how unemployment may lead to alienation. In order to empirically test the hypothesis that unemployment leads to alienation, it would have to be shown that Marx changed his "essentialist" views on alienation, i.e., from what "ought to be" to a deterministic theory based on "what is". According to Israel, Marx changed his view of human nature. This in itself constitutes a change in the theory of alienation, making it possible to formalize Marx's concept of alienation empirically. The following section will focus on how this change occurred.

From Marx to Modern Sociology: Alienation to Reification

To begin with, Israel (1971) points to Marx's "eleven theses of Feurerbach" in The German Ideology (1964), in which Marx focuses on human nature. Where Feurbach reduces the essence of man's nature to the essence of religion, Marx disputes this, saying that "...the essence of man is not an abstraction inherent in the particular individual but rather the real nature of man is the totality of his social relations" (p. 56). According to Israel, this can be interpreted in two ways. First, seeing man as a totality of his social relations suggests that man's personality is shaped and formed based on the roles he assumes in society and that these roles shape his behavior. But this is hardly the image of man Marx had in mind, because it would simply mean that society stamps its impression on man's personality in the process of socialization and role learning. In effect, man would be unable to control of his own economic and social destiny.

In a more practical sense, Marx views man as a creative being who is not only the sum of his total social relations but one who can create the conditions for social relations. Thus the second interpretation of human nature would read: "Man is the totality of his social relations seen in a historical perspective" (p. 57). Here, Marx puts man in full control of his own destiny. Since man has created the social institutions and processes which cause his alienation, he can also "uncreate" alienation through

his own activity in any given historical period. In other words, Marx recognizes human nature as the consequence of man's existing social relations. It follows then that man's general human nature has changed in the historical process, being the result of the social relations he has created himself. Human nature can be conceived as "the potentialities which mankind has and on the other hand, the existing human, being the product of a certain social structure" (p. 57). This second interpretation of man leads Marx away from the essentialist ideal of man, i.e., the way he and society "ought to be", by placing man at the centre of his created social conditions, i.e., the way "man is". This view provides three important contributions.

First, Marx can deal with existing economic and social conditions and how these conditions alienate man's existence under the capitalist "mode of production". In his later works, i.e., Capital (1976) and Grundrisse (1937, 1973), Marx begins analysis of specific historical conditions in which man has and is now producing. Marx's analysis includes; (a) how capitalist ownership of private property leads to a separation of classes, i.e., the bourgoisie and the proletariat; (b) the role that money plays in capitalist society, i.e., as a universal exchange commodity that not only buys commodities, including man's labour power, but also how money facilitates the accumulation of more capital; and (c) how human labour has acquired the exchangeable features of all commodities. In the final analysis, Israel argues that these ideas make it

possible to trace the development of the theory of reification in Marx's own writings, i.e., that man's existence in capitalist society is dominated by the products of his own making.

The second contribution of Marx's revised theory of alienation, focusing on alienation from product, is that the degree of separation from product can be empirically measured. Israel argues that the change in Marx's theory of alienation, also changed his emphasis on the nature of work and subprocesses of "exteriorization" and "disposing of" evident in his early works. He bases this on the fact that these two subprocesses of alienation are hardly used in Marx's later writings, in relation to his analysis concerning "fetishism of commodities". Israel concludes that cause and effect relationships relating to work and alienation from product can be determined if researchers focus on reification, "a specific subprocess which can be subsumed under this category of alienation" (p. 262). In effect, this enables researchers to solve social problems, i.e., alienation related to the ownership of private property, the division of labour and man's transformation into a commodity.

Thus, on the societal level, where everything has been transformed into a commodity, even man himself, reification is evident when commodities dominate man's existence in a consumer society. On the psychological level, Israel claims that the perception of reification may be determined

by existing reliable instruments which can measure the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced.

The third and most important contribution is that using the Marxian theory of reification the degree of alienation experienced from unemployment can also be determined. If unemployment, like the alienated work Marx spoke of, may be viewed as the ultimate expression of man's alienation from product, process and other people, then the impact of unemployment on an individual's consciousness can be empirically determined in terms of the powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced.

As mentioned in Chapter I, according to the theory of reification, students are essentially preparing themselves as products, commodities to supply the demand of industrial needs. Thus on the societal level, if unemployment prevents students from finding jobs in their professions because supply exceeds demand, students, seen as commodities with exchange-values, will sacrifice themselves to the market since their labour-power will not be a sought after commodity. Although a commodity's exchange-value is affected by market forces of supply and demand, on the psychological level, unemployment would have an impact on consciousness in terms of the perception of reification based on the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced.

In the following section, Israel's analysis will focus

on how the capitalist market system with its inherent bureaucracy reify man's existence creating the experience of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. This analysis relies of Marx's Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts (1844) and Israel's book, Alienation: From Marx to Modern Sociology (1971). Israel's notion of reification will provide the framework for testing hypotheses on the relationship between unemployment and alienation in Chapter V.

The Marxian Theory of Reification

Although Marx wrote the Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts in the nineteenth century, his critique of man's alienation from his existence under capitalism, for the most part still holds true today. If anything, alienation has deepened as society has progressed into the twentieth century. The technological revolution merely heightened man's alienation by centralizing control over the means of production.

To illustrate, the integration of automation into the workplace has only served to enhance productive forces, to produce more profit at a faster rate, while further alienating the worker from the product and his activity. With the advent of social relations engineering and the introduction of technology, production has become more rational, calculating and efficient, reducing the amount of labour activity and making the worker a cog in an immense

machinery. As specialization of tasks has increased, the division of labour has led to a separation of intellectual and manual labour and man's use of his capacities has been reduced. But the social relations to which Marx referred in the nineteenth century still remain, i.e., even though the "hands have changed", the interests of a minority still predominate over the majority and alienation is increasing with each technological (social and mechanical) innovation.

As mentioned in the beginning, Marx's description of alienated labour focuses on process, describing the alienation of man from the activity of his labour. However, according to Israel, an examination of the human condition under capitalism should focus on man's alienation from product since in modern times man is seemingly enslaved by fetishism of commodities--man is dominated by the products of his own making. Israel argues that to understand alienation and reified social relations researchers should focus on a specific subprocess of alienation called reification. This discussion will focus on Marx's ideas on alienation from product to explain reification.

Israel claims that three main factors promote reification in modern capitalist society. First, using Marx's idea on the fetishism of commodities, Israel points out that the capitalist market economy tends to transform everything into a commodity, even man himself. As Israel (:x) states:

> ...man becomes labour power or a production factor...as labour power he is a <u>seller</u> on the market, but the tendency is to treat him as an object as labour-power, no more, no less.

A second factor promoting reification is man's transformation into a consumer. Israel argues that since high consumption is an important precondition for high production in the industrialized world, false needs are created, i.e., advertising, which leads man to buy and consume.

Third, reification occurs because modern society is organized and produces as a bureaucracy. With the division of labour in bureaucracy, man serves as a cog in an immense bureaucratic machine.

On the societal level, these structural factors reify man's existence so that all social relations become relations between things. On the psychological level, reification is experienced as powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation.

How reified structures and processes lead to alienation will be discussed under three general topics: 1. The market - focusing on man's transformation into a commodity; 2. Man's transformation into a consumer; 3. The division of labour. This last topic will be based on technological development and will focus on bureaucracy, since this organization represents one of the main reifying processes in capitalist society, influencing the degree of

powerlessness, meaninglessness and isolation experienced in that society.

The Market

Marx begins his analysis by focusing on the "theory of value". He distinguishes between a product's "use-value" and its "exchange-value". A product's use-value is defined instrumentally: the value assigned to satisfy basic needs. For example, the use-value of food depends on how hungry a person is. Exchange-value is based on a product's transformation into a commodity. Although a product becomes a commodity when it is exchanged against other products, Marx argues that exchange-value is determined not by the product itself but rather by market laws.

Israel argues that the capitalist market system inherently turns social relations into commodity relations. Products are produced independently by their producers but they are not for private use but are rather for satisfying the need of society as a whole. When products are produced and acquire new goals, reification occurs. In the final analysis, everything according to Israel, is gradually changed into a commodity, even man himself. Marx sums this up:

> A commodity therefore is a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of the labour; because the relation

> of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is represented to them as a social relation, existing not between them, but between the products of their labour. This is why the products of labour become commodities...There is a definite social relation between men that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things....This I call Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, as soon as they are produced as commodities, and which are therefore inseparable from the production of commodities (Capital, Vol. I, 1976, pp. 18, 67, 72).

Thus, it is through the exchange of products in capitalist society, operating through its market structure, that commodities come to play such a dominant role. Not only do products acquire the characteristics of commodities but so also do the producers, since their labour-power is sold as a commodity according to market laws of supply and demand. The worker receives money for his labour producing commodities for society's consumption but is himself degraded into a commodity on par with all other commodities. As the capitalist production process becomes more rational and efficient, labour becomes more unfree, and the individual, becomes an object with exchange-value only. The more wealth the worker produces the poorer he becomes. Likewise, as the power of his production becomes greater, more goods are created, but the worker becomes cheaper as a commodity. In the end, Marx concludes that "(t)he devaluation of the human world increases in direct relation with the increase in value of the world of things"

(p. 43).

Following Marx, Israel agrees that as capitalist society develops and the social processes of production become more refined, the world of things takes precedent over the human world. As Israel states:

> Men are no longer individuals in the process of production and their varying characteristics do not influence this process to any marked extent. The concrete relations between producers and consumers have been broken down, and in its place impersonal relations have been established, through a market in which the value of commodities is determined by price-mechanism and exchange conditions. The result is that the individuals as well as the products, have been transformed into commodities, impersonal things which can easily be substituted by other commodities i.e. bureaucracy can easily replace a worker by others (p. 48).

What this means is that not only are products and labour-power transformed from use-value to exchange-value, but everything is transformed into a commercial commodity, i.e., love, virtue, conviction, consciousness and knowledge, etc. Where Marx refers to "objectification", i.e., everything transformed into a commodity, as "dispossession", Israel calls the same aspect of reification "detachment" (p. 44). The capitalist market system reifies man's existence so that:

> ...man has lost control over his own destiny and has seen this control invested into other entities. What is proper to man has become alien to him, being the attribute of something else (McLellan, 1971, p. 110).

Thus on the societal level, it is clear that reification occurs when everything is transformed into a commercial commodity, even man himself. On the social-psychological level, Israel claims that reification processes are experienced as powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation.

In terms of powerlessness, Israel writes that under the capitalist market system impersonal and objective laws have an impact upon individuals and as such are beyond influence or control. Since the individual has only labour-power as a commodity to sell, as an object, he must surrender to these iron laws. Since reification processes transform man's labour-power into a commodity, the individual is no longer an active subject but a passive object without a will of his own. Israel argues that on the societal level, individuals are alienated from their products and these products in turn dominate human existence under the capitalist market system. On the socio-psychological level, reification creates the perception of powerlessness. Israel states:

> ...the individual no longer perceives himself as an active, industrious subject but as a passive object without a will of his own. The individual perceives himself as powerless, as an object for powers which he does not know and therefore cannot understand or influence (p. 307).

Israel further argues that the reifying tendencies of the market cause powerlessness because of man's position in the division of labour. For example, with the advent of

modern technology the rate of a worker's output is often determined by the machine, i.e., the speed of the conveyor belt. In effect, the worker serves only as a production factor in the total process of production, having no personal control or influence over the production process. All work behavior is functional to certain goals, and a sense of powerlessness is created.

Another aspect of market reification is found by analysing the division of labour. In this case, man's lack of comprehension of the total process of production creates a sense of meaninglessness.

The structure of society has changed since the development of bureaucracy to serve the capitalist need to increase profits and produce products in the most efficient and economical way. Bureaucracy, with its division of labour, has changed man's role within the production process, so that only a small part of his capacities and abilities are used. This is true whether the work is manual or intellectual. Since the individual is given a limited role in the overall process of production, he works as an isolated atom, and uses only a small part of his capacities to perform his job. According to Israel, "atomization" affects individuals' consciousness to the degree that:

> ...the individual usually has no comprehensive grasp of the process of production and therefore lacks insight into it. His activity and the product of his activity become alien to him for he is not concerned with them. They are objects belonging to the owners of capital and the materials of production and sold to unknown consumers (p. 308).

In other words, the division of labour creates the experience of meaninglessness because man is given a limited work role. Since all work is dissected into specialized tasks, individuals are unable to comprehend the total process of production and therefore gain insight into it. Thus, it is clear that the reifying tendency of the market, by transforming man into a commodity, a production factor or a cog creates the experience of powerlessness and meaninglessness.

The impact of market forces on individual consciousness also creates the experience of isolation from others. With the transformation of the worker into a production factor in the process of production, he is then easily replaceable when machines take his place or work restrictions have to be made. Because relations between people are often impersonal or more like relations between objects, "...individuals lose their capacity for spontaneous contact..." (p. 59) and isolation is experienced. Although the degree of social isolation experienced is contingent on the contribution an individual makes or is capable of making to achieving goals of production, all social relations acquire a calculating character and men evaluate each other in the same way they would a commodity's exchange-value. Since evaluation occurs on this basis, Israel claims that reification in social relations is the result.

Man as a Consumer

In the previous section use-value was defined as the interrelationship between the individual's need structure and the intrinsic characteristics of the object. Exchange-value, however, represents a function of three factors: (1) the labour necessary to produce the object; (2) the supply; and (3) the demand. It was also shown that in the process of production the social relations between men were constituted of object relations; men were transformed into labour-power and in being production factors, human identity was lost. As Israel states:

> ...people are employed as long as their labour-power is necessary but are dismissed when machines can take over (p. 56).

In modern society man does not merely represent labour-power, but is also viewed as a potential consumer of commodities, a distribution factor. Viewed as a consumer, Israel states:

> ...he becomes another object, a distribution factor meaning the receiver and purchaser of commodities; i.e. of exhange-values (p. 307).

Because high production is dependent on high consumption, Israel claims it is necessary for capitalists to eliminate the use-value of objects to gain the highest return on their products. Consumption is reinforced by simply transforming man into a consumer, a distribution factor with exchange-value. In other words, if consumption can be defined as a function of exchange-value, and not as

the use-value of given objects, then consumption of objects must be based not on the need-structure of the individual but according to his buying resources. Israel claims that the use-value of objects no longer plays a role in the process of consumption.

It is understandable how man's transformation into a commodity causes him to lose his human identity and feel powerlessness due to lack of control over his social or economic destiny. As human identity is lost in the process of production the problem of self-evaluation is encountered.

According to Israel one of man's basic needs is the need for self-evaluation. In a consumer society self-evaluation, is for the most part, mediated by others. However, evaluation cannot occur by oneself or others in the process of production because mechanization and specialization have reduced man's capacity to use all his talents and abilities. Since the need for self-evaluation can no longer be satisfied in the production process and since in a reified society relations between people are often impersonal, according to Israel, no self-evaluation as carried out by others exists. Instead, self-evaluation can only occur if man's labour-power, as a commodity, is exchanged for objects with a certain exchange-value.

To illustrate, one visible basis of evaluation is the things a person owns or uses which may give him status. Man's labour-power can be seen as a commodity which he owns.

Status denotes "a characteristic which is appreciated by others" (p. 289). Since objects which endow social status have a certain exchange-value, they also indirectly acquire use-value, i.e., the object fulfils the basic need of self-evaluation. Because objects have different exchange-values attached to them, in terms of indirect use-value, labour with a higher price as a commodity, i.e., that of being a doctor, may give the owner greater satisfaction than labour with a lower price as a commodity, i.e., that of being a janitor.

To summarize, man's need to satisfy self-evaluation in a consumer society such as Albera, is based on acquiring objects with certain exchange-values. Since this need is mediated by the exchange-value of objects, which provide status to the owner, individuals evaluate themselves and are evaluated by others based on the things they own--objects having exchange-values and, indirectly, use-value. Because people value themselves according to their ownership of objects with exchange-values, the valuation of the human world decreases as the value placed on material things increases. As an "orientation towards things" takes precedence over people, according to Israel, "...consumption society often has the character of a fetish" (p. 318).

The process of reification occurs on the societal level in the market tendency to make demands independent of the need-structure of the individual. Since consumption is

more directed by the exchange-value inherent in commodities than by their use-value, the acquisition of things becomes the prime motive of human beings. Although, on the micro-sociological level, things rule the individual and dominate his existence, consumption becomes a necessary precondition for production on the macro-level. However, on the social-psychological level, the market's tendency to transform everything into commodities leads to a perception of powerlessness, since it appears to the individual that the capitalist market system is governed by impersonal and objective laws which are therefore beyond his control. Due to powerlessness, the individual perceives himself as a "thing", an object which must surrender to these iron laws to provide for his survival. As Israel states:

> The individual perceives himself as powerless, as an object for powers which he does not know and therefore cannot understand or influence (p. 318).

Another consequence of man's transformation into a consumer is that the experience of meaninglessness is created. In precapitalist societies the division of labour was such that it was possible for the individual to understand economic relations and the context in which they occurred. In other words, they had insight into the way things were produced, used and exchanged. Furthermore, individuals understood their roles in the total process of production and distribution. But in modern times the structure of society has changed, along with the division of labour, to meet consumers' needs in the most efficient

and economical way. Man's role within the production process has changed so that only a small part of his capacities and abilities are used to perform his job. According to Israel the consequence is that:

> ...the individual usually has no comprehensive grasp of the process of production and therefore lacks insight into it (p. 318).

Therefore, as capitalists appropriate the products produced by labour and sell them to unknown consumers this creates the experience of meaninglessness for the producer. Work activity becomes meaningless to the worker since the objects produced are not for self-realization but rather to meet the needs of a consuming society. Furthermore, because the individual works as an isolated atom in the production process, he neither understands the way things are produced, used and exchanged, nor his role in the total process of production and distribution. In the end, the more the worker objectifies himself in the products he himself creates, the poorer he becomes and the greater becomes the power of objects which dominate his existence. Although the market reifies man's existence in capitalist society by transforming him into a consumer and influences the degree of powerlessness and meaninglessness experienced, it also creates the experience of isolation: where man perceives and experiences isolation from others.

As mentioned earlier, in a consumer society, people are often valued by the exchange-values of the objects they

possess. Since the exchange-values of things are determined by market laws of supply and demand, the distribution and possession of scarce objects is a function of the individual's available buying resources. Since money defines the degree of power an individual has, then the possession of scarce objects leads to differentiation of certain groups in society. In other words, differentiation results in a separation between those people who can afford to pay for objects with high exchange-values and those who cannot and as a result isolation occurs.

Bureaucracy and the Division of Labour

A third factor which reifies man's existence in capitalist society is bureaucracy, with its inherent division of labour. Modern industry accomplishes its production goals through bureaucracies which operate on strict formal and rational principles. According to Israel, this leads to a formalization of human relations, and, indeed, as Luckac (1970) argues, "...total submission to the system of object relations, a prerequisite for bureaucracies functioning" (p. 280).

Within bureaucracies, a division of labour exists, each task divided into partial units for achieving the goal of commodity production. All work behavior is dissected, with the consequence that the production process is no longer a unified continuous process, but a repetition of

partial operations. Thus, man serves as a cog in the total process for producing commodities. As Israel states:

> Through a division of labour man is part of a system in which...he can be exchanged for and substituted by other subjects, such a substitution having no effect on the production process....As far as the functioning and goal achievement of the system is concerned, it is not important who is the incumbent of a position. Men are no longer individuals in the production process and their varying characteristics do not influence this process to any marked extent (p. 265).

Although the capitalist market system maximizes efficiency through bureaucracy, the process of reification inherent in bureaucracy "dehumanizes" man and causes not only the experience of powerlessness, meaninglessness, but also isolation from others.

To illustrate, within bureaucracy man acts only as an object or thing, to be manipulated according to the efficiency of production. Transformed into a production factor, the worker experiences powerlessness, since he is subject to forces which he is unable to influence or control. Furthermore, as man works as an isolated atom, he works in isolation and his social contacts are restricted. Not only is social isolation experienced but also meaninglessness, since atomization prevents man from comprehending the total process of production and therefore, he lacks insight into it. As Israel (1971) states:

> Man becomes a mechanical part of a mechanical system. One of the consequences is that social contacts in the labour process diminish, as the individual is transformed into an isolated atom. However atomization and isolation is only one side of the problem. They correspond to a regularity in the social structure, a regularity which...is for the first time in history extended over all types of life manifestations. Thus, we have two tendencies: on one hand, the individual's isolation and atomization,...on the other hand, his total dependence on society and its mechanisms. Atomization results in the individual's being more easily ruled and manipulated since he is unable to control or influence this process to any marked extent (pp. 281-2).

Another reason the inherent divison of labour within bureaucracy is a major reifying process is the system of values with which these organizations operate. Some of the most important values include: efficiency, formalization of rules, impersonal social relations and acceptance of asymmetrical relations based on dominance and submission. Since bureaucracy is based on asymmetrical relations, the "distance" between decision-makers in a bureaucracy and those affected by them, between people with power and those without, and between rulers and ruled, leads to the perception and experience of powerlessness.

Because of asymmetrical relations between rulers and ruled, social relations in the production process are often impersonal. According to Israel, asymmetry leads those in control to feel superior to those ruled, while leaving those without power to cope with the experience of

inferiority. As such, impersonal and asymmetric relations are two of the most important factors responsible for dehumanizing man, transforming him into an object, a production factor, and suppressing any human identity, efficacy, or interest he may have had in work. Israel sums up the worker's plight in bureaucratized capitalist society:

> Reification...influences the total structure of human consciousness: the abilities and capabilities of man are no longer closely knit into an organic unit in the individual but appear as objects which man owns and sells in the same way as the things in the world around him (p. 283).

In the end, Israel claims that powerlessness and social isolation occur because bureaucracy has transformed human relations into "utility relations" - into relations between objects. Since labour has been transformed into a commodity, the exchange-value ascribed to a person defines his utility, the degree of control over production and his relations to other people, i.e., human contact is often based on this assessment. In effect, individuals as production factors, as objects with exchange-value, "...are employed as long as their labour-power is necessary but are dismissed when machines can take over or when restrictions in the process of production have to be made" (p. 287). In short, workers are viewed in terms of utility and their capacity to achieve production goals, i.e., producing products for profits to keep the system operating

efficiently. According to Israel, this aspect of bureaucracy is:

> ...a sufficient condition for the establishment of the dehumanized social relations characterizing a reified social system (p. 324).

People in control of the bureaucratic apparatus reinforce and maintain reification processes inherent in bureaucracy. Although their power is based upon controlling the means of production and recruitment into this class, their positions enable them to establish goals for economic and political bureaucratic organizations without any democratic control imposed upon them. Israel claims that the dominance of a society by the bureaucratic structure, values and bureaucratic class leads to the bureaucratization of society and serious consequences for the individual.

Inability to influence decision-making processes leads to the perception among the ruled that power is exerted by unknown agents. Specifically, a feeling of powerlessness is created in those who deal with bureaucracy because they are unable to explain the intentions, goals and functioning of the system as defined by invisible power-making bodies. Decision makers gain protection through distancing and making themselves invisible from the ruled which also strengthens their exertion of power over the ruled because they cannot be influenced, controlled or even held responsible for decisions made. As Israel (1971) states:

> ...bureaucratic organizations develop their own way of functioning, independent of, and often in opposition to, the goals created for them, and leading to the rule of the bureaucratic class holding in its hands the concentration of power with corresponding powerlessness among the rest of the population. Thus we have the basis of one of the main reifying processes in modern society (p. 324).

When humans are transformed into things, objects, production or distribution factors as a result of a minority holding power, leaving those who do not belong to this group, powerless, the consequence of the power distribution, distance and invisibility of decision-making bodies is a depersonalization of social relations and a perception of asymmetry among those ruled. With depersonalization and asymmetry, dehumanization in social relations leads to an evaluation of individuals in terms of their utility, i.e., as a means to achieve the goals of production. Bureaucracy, with its inherent division of labour, leads individuals to experience reification as a feeling of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation.

Summary

Marx's theory of alienation and the Marxian theory of reification were examined to highlight the human condition in a capitalist society. Marx's idea that individuals are alienated from product, process, species-being and others is based on the premise that society and the individual are

interdependent, that structural conditions inherent in capitalist economies, i.e., the transformation of man's labour-power into a commodity, the division of labour, and the right to private property, determine individuals' consciousness of alienation.

Following Marx, Israel argues that because "...production is the acquisition of nature by the individual within and through a certain social structure" (p. 37), the link between objective conditions and social pathologies (e.g., alienation) is found by analyzing the social structural conditions of a society and the "social relations within which the process of production occurs" (p. 39).

Israel concluded that social structural conditions i.e., man's transformation into a commodity, man's transformation into a consumer; and the nature of bureaucracy also lead to alienation from product. On the societal level, these social conditions, which represent the social structure of society, together with the process of alienation, create the states of alienation which Israel identified as alienation from product, productive activity, and species-being, i.e., alienation from others.

Israel writes that the process of production or objectification which gives rise to social conditions is of special interest to the theory of reification. Social conditions, the basis of the organization of social production, characterize the social structure of capitalist

society, which in line with Marx, Israel argues gives rise to a sociological process, specifically, reification.

Agreeing with Marx that the basic process of all societies is objectification, Israel states that not every process related to the production of objects is considered normal. For example, when reified social conditions and processes prevent human nature from acting according to its needs and capacities, certain psychological states of alienation are created. These states, corresponding to Marx's ideas on alienation from product, may be determined by the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced.

Based on Israel's perspective, if unemployment, like other objective conditions described by Marx, is viewed in terms of man's alienation from product, then it is possible that unemployment could influence the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced.

Specifically, if students are preparing themselves as commodities they are doing so to meet the demands of industrial needs. However, if students are creating a supply of labour that exceeds demand, they are reinforcing the conditions for their own unemployment and the possibility of their product being appropriated and exploited by others. Since unemployment prevents students from working in their chosen profession, they would be forced to find work outside their fields to provide for

their means of subsistence.

Assuming this is true, according to Marx's arguement, the term alienated labour describes any other work students are forced into by unemployment. Because students would have to do work which is imposed from without, i.e., for money to survive, they would neither control their product nor their productive activity. In other words, if unemployment prevents students finding jobs in their professions, they will be forced to forfeit control over their own social and economic destiny and work as production factors, in the total process of production.

Therefore, it is understandable that students, as consumers of education, prepare themselves as commodities to work in a chosen field and that unemployment could lead to their alienation from their own product. Marx points out that the products of man's creation, social structural conditions and processes, can turn against its creator. Since unemployment is a structural condition that man has created, alienation from product can result where the product of a student's own creation:

> ...stands independently, outside himself i.e. outside his control, and alien to him, and exists opposed to him as an autonomous power (EPM, 1977, p. 73).

Although on the societal level, unemployment reinforces alienation from product, on the psychological level, unemployment would influence the individual's consciousness and create states of alienation defined as

powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation.

Both Marx and Israel have organized their theories around the premise that society and the individual are interdependent, that objective structural conditions create subjective states of alienation. The "assumption of interdependence" underlying Marx's theory is that given a certain theory of human nature, certain social conditions and processes create states of alienation, from product, process, species-being and others. For Israel, these structural conditions create states of alienation, identified as powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. The objective structural conditions and processes define the social system, whereas the subjective states of alienation result from the impact of objective conditions on an individual's consciousness. In each of the theories reviewed, Marx and Israel conclude that an objective condition promotes subjective experiences of alienation and that structural conditions and subjective attitudes relating to alienation are inextricably interwoven, the former causing the latter.

Interdependence is also the rationale provided for the instruments used in this research to determine the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced in unemployment. To highlight the assumption of interdependence, the following section reviews the theories of Seeman (1959) and Nettler (1957), explaining how structural conditions create alienated states of human

consciousness i.e., the rationale behind the instruments used to measure the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced from unemployment. This review will not only provide support for the theoretical convergences discussed above, but will also enable testing of hypotheses regarding the direct relationship between unemployment and alienation in Chapter V.

The Interdependence of Society and the Individual

Seeman's Theory of Alienation

Like Marx and Israel, Seeman (1959) puts forward the idea that structural conditiions cause alienation. Seeman argues that in order to obtain a useful theory relevant to society, three conditions must be met: "first, social structural features, treated as independent variables, must be specified; second, statements must be made about the psychological effects of that structure; and third, predictions of individual behavior must be derived" (p. 354). The following analysis is concerned with the first two of these aspects.

Seeman views alienation as a psychological state of mind, defined in terms of values, behaviors and expectations. Although the notion of alienation is based on expectations, following Marx, Seeman claims that these

states are directly linked to social structural conditions.

In Seeman's review of the literature he categorized five dimensions of alienation caused by social structural conditions in society. To highlight the objective/subjective frame of reference for this study, however, only powerlessness, meaninglessness from Seeman's theory will be reviewed, since these are the "concrete" measures used to empirically formalize the Marxian theory of reification.

Powerlessness

Seeman's conception of powerlessness focuses on an individual's "felt inability to influence social, political, educational, economic or structures significantly" (Schacht, 1970, p. 106). He bases the notion of powerlessness on Marx's description of alienated labour, which focuses on the workers' separation from control over their product and activity, "of their helplessness, of being used for purposes other than their very own" (Geyer & Schwietzer, 1981, p. 76). By focusing on the work process through which alienation occurs, Marx highlights how individuals in the process of production work as alienated labour. He argues that work under an economic system of alienation does not fulfil needs for self-realization but merely acts as a means to provide for a means of subsistence. As Marx states:

> ...labour is external to the worker; it does not belong to his intrinsic nature; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself, does not feel content but

> unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind....His labour is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is <u>forced labour</u>....It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a <u>means</u> to satisfy needs external to it (EPM, 1977, p. 71).

What this means is that the worker is powerless because others determine the conditions of his work - the person has no power of decision over himself, rather others have the power of decision over him; the worker is unable to influence the decision-making process of the leadership in the enterprise, or to control the conditions and terms of employment. In the end, the product which man as a commodity has produced turns into a hostile and alien object which dominates his existence.

While Marx argues that the inherent nature of capitalism undermines the individual's ability to be the initiator of his own destiny, Seeman claims that the powerless person, completely subjugated to external forces, probably puts a lot of faith in fate or luck rather than determination, persistence and mastery over the environment in order to control his own destiny. In other words, when the powerless individual perceives that his productive activity does not have a bearing on what eventually will happen to him, he becomes quite ready to resign himself to some external force which will determine his economic destiny. On this basis, Seeman argues that the extent of powerlessness caused by structural forces can be determined

by the degree an individual expects to control or influence outcomes, overcoming structural conditions that are perceived as obstacles to his goals. As Seeman (1975) states:

> It is the lack of control over economics, politics, interpersonal relations and education that is featured in these concrete measures of powerlessness; and the implication surely is that these are the domains respondents could exercise control and in which the absence of control is likely to be experienced as a discrepancy between potential and actual mastery (p. 93).

It is understandable that objective conditions, which define the social structure of society in Seeman's terms, may cause powerlessness, i.e., when individuals are unable to control outcomes related to educational, political, or economic forces. This idea may be applied to unemployment. Unemployment can be viewed as a structural condition. By preventing control over outcomes, unemployment influences the degree of powerlessness experienced -- related to the student's expectations of employment in a chosen profession. Seeman argues that objective conditions create the subjective experience of powerlessness, an arguement he continues in his examination of meaninglessness.

Meaninglessness

Seeman (1972) believes that structural conditions cause meaninglessness as well as powerlessness. On the societal level, meaninglessness is caused by the way the capitalist market system operates and is organized, i.e.,

laws of demand and supply and the division of labour. Seeman argues if sound predictions cannot be made about the way society's institutions, i.e., social structures and processes, operate for meeting industrial needs then meaninglessness results and control over future outcomes of behavior is unlikely. On the psychological level, meaninglessness is experienced when an individual perceives "the social order as fickle or unpredictable" (p. 100) or put in another way, "...the world is perceived as chaotic disorder as opposed to being an orderly and efficient system (1959, p. 756). Seeman (1959) defines meaninglessness as the "...low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of behavior can be made" (p. 786). Seeman (1972a) argues that knowledge about the structures and processes inherent in capitalism which prevent control is necessary to overcome this form of alienation. He sums up this idea stating:

> The anticipated formula is simple enough; high alienation [meaninglessness] goes with limited knowledge, for in an important sense, knowledge acquisition is irrelevant for those who believe that fate, luck, chance or external forces control the fall of events (p. 473).

Seeman's idea that structural factors cause the experience of meaninglessness is derived primarily from Karl Mannheim's (1940) thesis on "substantive rationality" and "functional reality". Mannheim (1940) argues that as functional reality increases, that is, as society increasingly organizes its members towards the more

efficient realization of its goals, an individual's ability to act in a given situation with reference to the total process decreases. To be efficiently organized for the realization of goals, i.e. production quotas, a "systematic division of function" or a division of labour is necessary. However, because work is differentiated into manual and intellectual tasks, each individual occupies a relatively meaningless position in the total process of production, and lacks comprehension of the total process.

Mannheim's idea that structural conditions, i.e., the division of labour, create the worker's experience of meaninglessness is based on the premise that the worker lacks comprehension of the total process of production and therefore insight into it. Thus, for Mannheim, the notion of meaninglessness reflects a split in man's consiousness between the part and the whole, i.e., individuals' work roles do not fit into the total system of organizational goals, or society, but rather have become separated from any organic connection with the whole. When individuals work only as production factors in the production process and lack comprehension of the whole, they are likely to make costly errors in judgment or behavior when confronted with daily situations. The general lack of understanding of the "democratic" process in our society is a case in point.

Thus, it is clear how, structurally, the division of labour causes a sense of meaninglessness. It is possible

that unemployment may also cause meaninglessness if students lack comprehension of the structural forces inherent in the capitalist market system, i.e., market laws of supply and demand, or the way society produces and is organized. If students do not comprehend market laws they would be unable to make satisfactory predictions about the future outcomes of their educational training. According to Seeman's (1972) argument, the uncertainty created by unemployment, i.e., "perceiving the social order as fickle or unpredictable" (p. 100), would be related to the intensity of the meaninglessness experienced. Since Seeman defines meaninglessness in terms of the expectations individuals hold, then the degree of meaninglessness experienced by students could be in proportion to their expectations of unemployment in their chosen professions.

Nettler's Theory of Alienation

Like Seeman and Israel, Nettler's (1957) view of alienation is that structural conditions inherent in capitalist society cause social isolation. Social isolation refers to a sense of exclusion or rejection from society and/or subcultures who share a common normative system or, in Nettler's words, "...the individual's detachment or his estrangement from society and the dominant culture it carries" (p. 672).

Social Isolation

Although Nettler's definition of isolation suggests a

feeling of being in but not of society, remoteness from the larger social order, or even an absence of loyalties to intermediate collectivities within the social system, the concept isolation presupposes a sense or need for affiliation or belongingness in a community. This involves for example, the need to be part of or committed to a work role and/or loyalty to an organization. Thus, where Nettler focuses on the individual's feeling of detachment from fundamental values of society and its dominant culture, social isolation may be viewed specifically as highlighting "alienation from some but not all others in that society" (Schacht, 1970, p. 17).

From Marx's perspective, isolation from others is a consequence of living in capitalist or civil society, where the whole of society, according to Marx, is organized to "facilitate the accumulation of private property through exploitation" (Schacht, 1970, p. 97). For this purpose men are encouraged or compelled into the contracting of labour for wages. On one hand is the worker who has only labour to sell, on the other is the other man, the capitalist, who appropriates the products and controls productive activity to generate profits, while returning to the worker only enough money to provide for a means of subsistence.

Although Marx's notion of work focuses on the connection between autonomy and identification with what an individual is, does, and produces, isolation from others

suggests, first, that when individuals are controlled by others they cannot find satisfaction and fulfillment in work so as to achieve personal self-realization. As Schacht (1970) states, "...when others determine the nature of one's product and direct one's productive activity, the product ceases to be the embodiment of one's personality and the latter ceases to be its free expression" (p. 259). In effect, when labour and product are appropriated by the other man, the capitalist, he is not viewed in terms of one's own realization, but rather the limitation of one's own liberty. In other words, isolation from others is based on the idea that work which is external to the worker's needs for realization results in others becoming alien to him because his products and labour serve only capitalist interests while he acts as a serf in the total process of production.

The second idea that isolation from others suggests is that others may even succeed in making the self seem alien to oneself. For instance, the way an individual perceives himself and the way others see him, i.e., being an embodiment of an alien being, an object for exploitation, is beyond the individual's control, and as such is a perception he cannot escape. In this case, isolation from others is "grounded in self-centredness, which attends only to private advantage, and in a self-conception that excludes any idea of sociality" (Schacht, 1970, p. 96).

Alienation from others is rooted in the structure of

the capitalist production, where "...social relations - especially ownership relations - according to which production is organized, prevent or at least make difficult, cooperative action" (Israel, 1971, p. 57). Specifically, when the products and labour are appropriated by the other man, the individual is powerless to control his products or productive activity. Furthermore, due to specialization of tasks the individual works as an isolated atom, and work becomes meaningless to him. Insofar as the individual, his product and work activity are controlled by those who own the means of production, he is alienated from others, who could guide and fashion his self-realization.

In terms of this research, unemployment may lead to isolation from significant others. If unemployment prevents students from finding jobs in their fields, they may have to sacrifice themselves, i.e., their product, to the market in order to survive. If this occurs they would be separated from their product - control over product would be relinquished to the other man and also from process - productive activity would be controlled by others. In the end, unemployment would prevent an individual controlling the production process, or one's product and, as a consequence, having social relations with others who could fashion and guide him in entering a career.

Summary

This section has examined the assumption that structural conditions create subjective experiences of alienation (attitudes, values and expectations). Each author concludes that objective conditions promote subjective experiences of alienation, and that structural conditions and subjective attitudes relating to alienation are inextricably interwoven, the former causing the latter.

Like Marx and Israel, both Seeman and Nettler agree that structural conditions and processes determine man's consciousness in terms of alienation. Although Seeman does not discuss in detail the objective conditions in society which produce alienation, his theory, based on Marx's concern with objective conditions, is underscored by the premise concerning the interdependence of the individual and society. This is made clear in Seeman's discussion of the powerlessness and meaninglessness caused by the division of labour. Finally, Nettler (1957) attributes social isolation to the inherent structure of society, i.e., "...common cultural practices which come to subjugate man instead of being controlled by him" (p. 673).

What is clear from the above is that structural forces inherent in the capitalist market system may lead to alienation. As mentioned previously, one factor that may prevent control over productive activity and lead to

alienation is unemployment. If unemployment, like the other objective conditions Marx saw as creating alienation, is viewed in terms of reification, then according to Israel's argument, the impact of unemployment could also create alienation, based on the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced. This is especially valid among students who have high expectations of unemployment in their chosen fields after graduation, since they would be prevented from working in their chosen fields and be forced to sacrifice themselves as products, as commodities, to the capitalist market system.

Now that the basic theoretical framework has been summarized, it is necessary to relate empirical evidence to the above theoretical assumptions so that they may be supported or rejected. Since unemployment may lead to alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation, Chapter III will examine (a) the unemployment situation nationally, provincially and locally; (b) the social and psychological effects experienced by the unemployed; and (c) empirical research focusing on the relationship between unemployment and alienation experienced as powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. These studies will reinforce the theoretical convergences discussed above and enable the hypothesis testing discussed in Chapter IV.

Chapter III

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE CANADIAN ECONOMY

Until 1987, economic news for Canadians has been grim. The damaging world oil price shocks in 1978-79, along with the tightening North American credit, resulted in a substantial downturn in the economy. In March, 1985, the Prime Minister of Canada, Brian Mulroney, stated that "the federal deficit was approximately 35 billion dollars" (CTV news, March, 1985) with double-digit unemployment rates standing nationally at 11.5% (Statistics Canada, 1985). Although unemployment rates have declined, as of March, 1989, the national rate of unemployment was at 8.6% (Statistics Canada, 1989).

Alberta Economy

Nowhere has the scarcity of work had a more profound effect on the lives of the citizenry than in Alberta, thousands of whom are currently unemployed. Highly specialized in primary (oil & gas) industries, Alberta previously known for its skilled, well paid and secure labour force, has in 1988 one of the highest unemployment rates iu the nation. This may be contrasted to the boom years of the 1970's when the unemployment rate was the lowest in Canada (between 3.0% and 4.0%). Alberta's unemployment rate, which in 1981 was 7.6%, sharply rose to

12.7% by December 1982 (Statistics Canada 1981, 1982; Economic Council of Canada,1983, p. 40). When the economy had ground to a halt in 1983, Alberta had one of the highest unemployment rates in Canada standing at 12.1% (Statistics Canada,1983). In 1985, Alberta's capital Edmonton, had a 15.5% unemployment rate (Decore, 1985) with Calgary standing at 12.5% (ITV news, 1985). Although unemployment rates have declined, as of March, 1989, Alberta's rate of unemployment was at 8.1% (The Labour Force, March, 1989).

Youth

As unemployment rates have escalated, their impact has been greatest on Canadian youth. It is estimated that over one-quarter of the unemployed are between the ages of 15-24 years. Between January 1981 to December 1982, employment decreased for 15-24 year olds by 272,000 while their unemployment rate rose from 13.5 to 24.0% (Statistics Canada, 1983). In Alberta, 1981 unemployment rate for the 15-24 year age group was 6.1%. In 1987 the unemployment rate increased sharply for 15-24 year olds to 12.5% (Statistics Canada, 1987). As of March, 1989, unemployment levels remained the same for young people aged 15-24 years with the rate standing at 12.3% (Statistics Canada, 1989).

Under these conditions, youth unemployment is important to consider since large numbers of young students

are graduating from post-secondary institutions with high expectations of becoming employed in their chosen fields. However, Sturman (1979) claims if "...the trend towards higher participation in secondary and tertiary education continues, then problems of placement and work adjustment are going to increase" (p. 193). Because a finite number of positions exist in the Alberta economy, large numbers of graduating students will be "really entering the job market at the worst time since the 1930's" (Lowe, 1985).

The Social-Psychological Impact of Unemployment

Since the Great Depression of the 1930's, sociologists have focused research on the link between unemployment and social problems. Numerous studies show that unemployment has social and psychological consequences for both manual and nonmanual workers (Aiken, 1968; Braginsky & Braginsky, 1975; Carle, 1987; Cobb & Kasl, 1977; Ferman, 1963; Kahn, 1981; Mullen, 1986; Powell & Driscoll, 1979; Slote, 1969).

Unemployment: Social Effects

With regards to social effects, periods of extensive unemployment are usually accompanied by increases in certain types of maladaptive behaviors such as crime, suicide, homicides, alcohol and drug abuse, child and spouse abuse, juvenile delinquency, divorce and marital conflict and death. Other social effects related to unemployment include increasing alienation from society, its institutions and the self. One type of alienation

experienced from unemployment is social isolation, i.e., from friends, relatives and the community (Bakke, 1940; Carle, 1987; Jahoda et al., 1933; Kamarovsky, 1940; Mullen, 1986).

Unemployment: Socio-psychological Effects

Socio-psychological effects caused by unemployment occur primarily from stress (Coleman, 1964; Gurney, 1980a). The main stress-related symptoms caused by unemployment include depression, anxiety and worry, physical illness, increased heart attacks (see Atkinson, Liem & Liem, 1986; Bakke, 1933; Brenner, 1976; Jahoda, 1933, 1979; Kessler, House & Turner, 1987; Liem & Raymond, 1982; Reigle, 1982). Unemployment also causes experiences including: helplessness (Seligman, 1975; Tiggmann & Winefield, 1984); and apathy (Adler, 1927); fatalism (Baake, 1933; Meir & Bell, 1959; Tiggmann & Winefield, 1984) meaninglessness (Coleman, 1964) and powerlessness (O´Brien & Dowling, 1980).

These are some of the many social and personal effects of the stress and strain caused by unemployment. Of particular interest for this research, is the relationship that may exist between unemployment and alienation and/or its components of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. Since many students are preparing for careers in industries where high unemployment exists, if unemployment is viewed as the ultimate expression of man´s separation from his product, labour and other people, a

priori case could be made for the view that a direct relationship between unemployment and alienation exists.

Unemployment/Alienation Connection: Research and Hypotheses

Powerlessness

Harrison (1976) utilized Baake's (1933) unemployment research, describing a sequence of stages leading to the loss of self and increased depression when lengthy unemployment was experienced: from initial shock, through optimism, to pessimism, and finally to fatalism. Tiggemann & Winefield (1984) believe that the last stage, fatalism, can be equated "to powerlessness (personal); as a loss of feeling of control over events" (p. 34).

However, equating fatalism with powerlessness creates a confusion in explicating the consequences of unemployment in Marxist terms, which emphasize that man is stripped of any meaningful relationship to the things he produces. Pride of authorship, a sense of personal efficacy, and of creative self-expression are lost. Seeman (1975) echoes this concern, stating:

> Hypotheses that treat powerlessness as though it were a linear or encompassing phenomenon are not making some crucial distinctions and are probably doomed to failure (p. 98).

Thus Seeman (1975) restricts the definition of powerlessness to "a lack of control over economic,

political or educational events" (p.677). However, the potential for control likewise exists in these domains. On this basis, powerlessness is viewed as the "discrepancy between potential and actual mastery" (Seeman 1972a, p. 471).

In contrast, fatalism, traditionally a Durkheimian term, is commonly linked with anomie - a state of disregulation in which mutually agreed-upon social norms are no longer effective in controlling man's actions" (Coleman, 1964). For Durkheim, fatalism is a form of anomie which occurs during periods of social disruption and change. He defined the concept as a type of suicide concerning "persons with futures pitilessly blocked..." (Thompson, 1982) and not as the lack or potential lack of ability to control outcomes.

While the definition of powerlessness implies "there is still hope", in the latter case, fatalism, clearly "there is none". Although Tiggemann and Winefield (1984) use the term fatalism to define powerlessness, their argument does suggest that research should focus on the relationship between unemployment and powerlessness in terms of alienation from product, rather than using anomie as an explanation of the unemployment experience.

In other research a direct link between unemployment and alienation as powerlessness is supported. For example, a condition of learned helplessness is described as "...a response to the depressive influence of unemployment

(Tiggmann & Winefield, 1984). The learned helplessness model emphasizes that efficacy is the lynchpin of the unemployment experience, since:

> ...it appears that distorted understandings resulting from the consequences of unemployment have the potential to undermine efficacy...by producing decreased attempts to exert control over the situation (Gecas & Schwalbe, 1983, p. 85).

Seligman's (1975) statement that a learned helplessness model of unemployment would concentrate not on lack of money but on lack of control or powerlessness as being crucial to the unemployment experience, is probably correct.

In fact, recent research efforts by O'Brien & Kabanoff (1979) have corroborated a direct relationship between unemployment and this form of alienation. The authors have used correlational evidence to substantiate that unemployment leads those affected to feel more powerlessness: "a feeling of being less able to control and influence the environment in order to obtain desired outcomes" (pp. 143-154). Results show that as the period of unemployment increased, school-leavers experienced more powerlessness, which led to lower desired levels for skill-utilization, influence and variety.

Further research is needed to reinforce the findings shown above. The relationship between unemployment and powerlessness could be made more amendable to sharp empirical statement by testing the following hypothesis:

H1 - "Those individuals who anticipate high unemployment will be the ones who will experience powerlessness".

Powerlessness: Cross-Cultural Studies

Cross-cultural studies support a direct relationship between unemployment and powerlessness where sex and age were introduced as controls. Controlling for sex, two studies indicate significant differences (although contradictory) between males and females experiencing the effects of unemployment in terms of powerlessness. A New Zealand study (Tiggmann & Winefield, 1984, p. 38) shows that girls are more prone to the effects of helplessness i.e., powerlessness, caused by unemployment than boys. However, Australian research (Dowling & OBrien, 1981) indicates that unemployment causes equal levels of powerlessness for both males and females. This is based on results which show that both males and females who further advanced their education desired to influence outcomes regarding work to a greater degree than those who did not.

Controlling for age, research shows that unemployment also affects different age bands of students. For example, Australian research done by O'Brien & Kabanoff (1979) found that age is significantly related to powerlessness; older individuals (over 21) decreased their desire to influence the environment and accepted any type of work to fulfill survival needs. These findings are supported by American research done by Andrisani & Nestel (1975) where a

longitudinal study, shows that middle aged males (aged 30-45 years) were more prone to high levels of powerlessness if entry into the workforce was not achieved. However, survey research done in New Zealand by Tiggmann & Winefield (1984) demonstrates that younger students (below the age of 21) experienced higher levels of powerlessness if unemployed. Thus, to conclude that a relationship between unemployment and powerlessness is stronger for older individuals may place one on shaky ground.

Meaninglessness

Another approach highlighting the unemployment / alienation connection is proposed by Coleman (1964) who claims that a direct relationship exists between unemployment and meaninglessness. Coleman claims that meaninglessness may result from unemployment when "...occupational aspirations and accomplishments" (p. 350) are not achieved. Coleman suggests that unemployment would cause meaninglessness for individuals particularly if they are young, ambitious and have a desire to succeed in life.

If the goal of university training is to find work in a chosen profession it is expected that for some students unemployment would create high levels of meaninglessness. If students do not comprehend market laws of supply and demand, based on Seeman's definition of meaninglessness, they would be unable to make satisfactory predictions about future outcomes of employment based on their academic

training. Thus it is possible that unemployment could prevent students from achieving their aspirations and goals if they lack comprehension of market laws and influence the degree meaninglessness experienced. Although Coleman never researched this issue, a direct relationship between unemployment and meaninglessness could be tested by the hypotheses:

> H2 - "Those individuals who anticipate high unemployment in their chosen fields will be the ones who will experience meaninglessness".

Meaninglessness: Related Research

In parallel research results show that alienation (anomia) results from blocked aspirations and goals but this may depend on social class background. As Meir & Bell (1958) state:

> ...class identification...may be an indicator of a belief system which limits access to opportunity for the achievement of life goals for certain segments of the population i.e., access to prized goals of society -- monetary success, prestige, power, or merely regular employment (p. 195).

Assuming the above is true, Scanzoni (1964) argues that limited access may result because working class individuals lack comprehension about the capitalist market system and how it operates. Claiming that "...limited occupational achievement appears to be the product of the limited purview of opportunity specifically within the working class" (p. 164), Scanzoni concludes that occupational achievement and mobility is less often defined

as realistic for working class individuals. This is because a "gap" (anomie), created by structural factors (e.g., lack of knowledge), undermines the aspirations and expectations of working class persons and therefore more "anomia" or alienation is experienced by them.

On the other hand, Scanzoni contends that structural conditions are not as anomic for middle class individuals. As a result, middle class youth experience lower levels of anomia, which allows them a much wider array and more optimistic view of their life chances in the opportunity structure. In the end, Scanzoni (1964) concludes that anomie constrains working class individuals to the point that they have little hope of attaining a middle class "modicum of success", unless a significant other guides a working class person towards attaining this goal (Lipp & Bendix, 1960; Scanzoni, 1964).

This has implications for students who define their belief system for achievement of life goals according to their parents' social status. If the goal of university training is to find work in a chosen profession and this is hindered by social class, it is expected that for some students unemployment would create high levels of meaninglessness, since they would be unable to comprehend the capitalist market economy and be unable to make satisfactory predictions about future outcomes based on their academic training.

Social Isolation

A final argument may be made directly linking unemployment to social isolation. In related research, the connection between educational training and social isolation is highlighted by Armer (1970), who argues that:

> ...education produces either less or more alienation [as social isolation] depending upon the extent to which it facilitates or interferes with the attainment of an individual's goals (p. 155).

This interpretation is similar to arguments expressed by Lerner (1958) who found that levels of discontent are a function of "blocked aspirations for a more satisfying life" (pp. 102-103). Likewise, "marginal man" theories utilize "frustration theory" which explain that persons who have tried to substitute value orientations of one socio-cultural system for another but who are blocked in their aspirations to achieve acceptance into the new group experience intense alienation as social isolation (Dickie-Clark, 1966).

In terms of the above, the link between unemployment and social isolation may be made if it is assumed that unemployment, alienating one's product and labour, also causes an individual's isolation from significant others. In this case, if unemployment prevents individuals from having control over their product or productive activity, this would also prevent social relations with others who could guide them on entering their careers.

If unemployment prevents students from finding work in their chosen professions, then they would be separated from: (a) their product (their talents and training would be used for purposes other than their own); (b) work activity (they would have no control over when to do it or how); and most important here, c) significant others who could guide them on entering their professions. In this case, students who expect unemployment in their chosen fields would likely experience high social isolation by being separated from those who are working in corresponding professions, but not necessarily from all others in society. In the end, unemployment would cause high social isolation depending upon the extent of control achieved over product, process or as expressed differently by Nettler (1957), following Marx, upon the degree

> ...one feels or has positive attitudes towards the common cultural practices which come to subjugate man instead of being controlled by him (p. 670).

Thus, based on Armer's (1970) and Nettler's (1957) research, the proposal that unemployment leads to social isolation could be verified by the hypothesis:

> H3 - "Those individuals who anticipate high unemployment in their chosen fields will be the ones who will experience social isolation".

Now that it is tentatively established in the empirical literature that unemployment may lead to alienation and its components of powerlessness,

meaninglessness and social isolation, Chapter IV describes the research methodology used to test hypothesis of the direct relationship between unemployment and alienation.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Chapter 4 presents a description of the research design, instrumentation, research procedures and statistics involved in conducting the study.

Design

The design chosen to facilitate explanation and interpretation is the "static group comparison" design. Kidder (1981, p. 61) describes this design as consisting of two or more comparison groups defined by their value on X. In this case, one would compare the O scores of the comparison groups to assesss whether there is a relationship between X, unemployment, and O, alienation.

To illustrate, comparison groups were formed by dividing the sample into faculty categories. In order to be interpretable, "comparison groups were formed so that they were mutually exclusive and exhaustive; that is no respondent was classified in more than one category, and every respondent was classifiable into some category" (Kidder, 1981, p. 61). The division of the comparison groups by sex satisfies these two conditions. When the results were tabulated (in Chapter V) an indication of the degree that sex influenced the original two variable

relationship (between expectation of unemployment and alienation) was attained.

In order to explain and interpret the relationship between X or unemployment and O or alienation, three criteria for inferring causation need to be met: (1) that X and O covary; (2) that X precedes O in time; and (3) that alternative explanations of group differences in O are accounted for.

Although the above two criteria mentioned are met by static group comparison design for interpreting results, the possibility of not taking into account alternative explanations, the third criterion, remains problematic as there are many other variables that could influence the original two-variable relationship; between expectation of unemployment and alienation. This problem was countered by introducing variables such as sex, age, and socioeconomic status, which based on related research represented the influence of phenomena that could cause alternative explanations. It should be noted that these variables were introduced sequentially. This is based on Kidder's suggestion that, "...one should not introduce a variable whose influence occurs late in the sequence as a control in studying relationships among variables earlier in the sequence" (p. 62). For example, when the relationship between high expectations of unemployment (IV) and alienation (DV) was examined in terms of differences among men and women, then current income and occupation were

viewed as inappropriate controls since most students tested are unemployed. Appropriate controls were deemed those variables which represented an alternative influence on alienation levels such as sex or education. Using this strategy within our design, variables such as faculty, age, sex, and social status derived from mother's and father's occupation are introduced as controls to determine their impact on the original two-variable relationship; between expectation of unemployment and alienation.

Another limitation using this design should be noted. Specifically, an assumption has to be made about the time order of this design, since measurments of X, unemployment, and O, alienation, usually occur at about the same time when using questionnaire scales to obtain data. Thus, even though X, expectation of unemployment, does not precede O, alienation, in time, Kidder states that "...the survey researcher must assume that X as measured in the survey has influenced the respondent as part of her or his prior life processes" (p. 62). For instance, it is assumed that for most Canadian students educational training precedes full-time employment. Although this is generally a valid assumption, in some cases students have held work roles in industry that they consider to be permanent prior to attaining educational credentials (Blau & Duncan, 1967). For this reason, Kidder suggests it is wise to "...exercise caution in making causal inferences from survey research" (p. 62).

Instrumentation

The items included in the unemployment questionnaire (see Appendix A) can be placed in three categories. First, there are those concerned with background characteristics. Second concerns data indicating a students present status and perceptions of future employment. Third are those items from which a powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation score is obtained.

Background Characteristics

An important aspect of this research involves applying statistical controls for variables which might be related to powerlessness, meaninglessness, and social isolation independently of high expectancies of unemployment. Information on several characteristics which might be used as controls was gathered. These characteristics are (1) sex (Seeman, 1967, p. 114; Tiggmann & Winefield, 1984, p. 38); (2) age (Dean, 1961, p.757; Warr & Jackson, 1984, pp. 77-81) 3) social class (Bandura, 1981; Coopersmith, 1967; Goldethorpe, 1968; Meir & Bell, 1958; Seeman, 1959).

Because several studies have shown a causal connections between the factors mentioned above and alienation, this gives further importance to the need for considering these background characteristics as control variables.

To measure the relationship or dimensions of

alienation experienced from unemployment questionnaire items are derived from Dean's (1961) Powerlessness sub-scale, Srole's (1956) Anomie scale for an index of meaninglessness and Nettler's Self-estrangement scale measuring social isolation. These serve as measures of alienation experienced from unemployment.

Powerlessness: Research Background

In most studies where powerlessness is examined there are four different conceptions of alienation distinguished (see Schacht, 1970, pp. ch.6, 166-169). For this research however, defining powerlessness focuses on the conception of "feeling powerless".

With regards to feeling powerless, most empirical studies focus on "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine...the outcomes...he seeks" (Seeman, 1972, p. 784; also see Middleton, 1963; Neal & Rettig, 1967; for similar formulations). In specifying the outcomes of powerlessness, there is wide agreement that the outcomes in question deal primarily with those which "...have to do with the individual's sense of influence over socio-political or economic events" (Seeman, 1972, p. 785). For example, a sense or feeling of powerlessness may be measured through statments such as: "This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it" (Seeman, 1972, p. 775). At other times, a sense of powerlessness may be extracted from

statements which concern influence over some "major political and economic concerns of the contemporary period such as war or inflation" (Neal & Rettig, 1967, p. 601), or unemployment (O'Brien & Dowling, 1981; Coleman, 1964). Finally, items addressing a feeling of powerlessness may be elicited on the basis of agreement or disagreement to statements such as: "There is not much that I can do about the most important problems we face today" (Middleton, 1963, p. 973). The above research deals specifically with "...the felt inability to influence social, political, educational, economic or structures significantly" (Schacht, 1970, p. 106). Indeed, the sense of powerlessness itself, is the issue here, not any other attitudes (e.g., wrongness of powerlessness, apathy and distrust, or powerlessness accompanied by a sense of wrongness) which might be associated with this feeling.

The Powerlessness Scale

As mentioned above, several studies have operationalized powerlessness in terms of items which measure perception of control over socio-political and economic events. Dean (1961) developed a scale consisting of three subscales for measuring powerlessness, normlessness and social isolation. To develop the scale Dean used as his starting point Seeman's (1959) classification and description of the five types of alienation. This scale is a 24-item Likert-type instrument which yields a total alienation score as well as scores for

the three sub-scales of normlessness, social isolation and powerlessness.

Since the powerlessness subscale has been verified to be unidimensional (Sterling, 1964, p. 107) it will be used here to measure the degree of powerlessness students may experience from expecting unemployment after graduation. Dean's (1961) 9-item powerlessness scale measures a form of alienation first suggested by Hegel and Marx in their discussions concerning the worker's separation from effective control over economic destiny; of his being used for purposes other than its very own. It is the sense or feeling that "...individuals have ever less the feeling that they can understand or influence the very events upon which their life and happiness is known to depend" (p. 186).

The scale is a 5-choice type in which for each item one must select between Strongly Agree (assigned a nominal value of 4), Agree (3), Uncertain (2), Disagree (1) and Strongly Disagree (0). The powerlessness score is determined by summating the scores for individual items. The higher the score, the higher the powerlessness experienced.

For this research, only the powerlessness subscale will is used since the following 9-items constitute a reliable, valid and unidimensional scale (see Appendix A: Unemployment Questionnaire). Other reasons for using Dean's Powerlessness scale include:

1. Alienation as measured by the powerlessness subscale may be linked theoretically to notions of reification purported by Israel (see Chapters I & II) in terms of the market and the division of labor. For example, Israel's (1971) arguement about how utility relations lead to the experience of powerlessness may be viewed from the perspective highlighted in item #6: "Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me". Furthermore, Israel's discussion concerning structural aspects of capitalist society such as the market and bureaucracy and technology and their impact on cognitive experience may be linked to Dean's conception of powerlessness as highlighted in item #8: "We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life". Finally, the connection between reification and unemployment may be linked to powerlessness highlighted in question #9: "The future looks very dismal". This is relevant to students anticipating high unemployment in their chosen fields having to find jobs outside their profession in order to survive. Since their educational training and talents (their product) may be used for purposes other than their own they may be viewed as commodities in a reified society.

Overall, Dean's powerlessness scale and Israel's notion of powerlessness experienced in a capitalist society as reification seem to have close affinity to each other in terms of reflecting current market conditions related to

finding jobs in a chosen profession; the feeling of powerlessness that may be experienced by students who hold high expectations of unemployment in our capitalist market system.

2. The length of the subscale - 9 items - are adequate to test for this form of alienation without being to time consuming or causing fatigue so that some students would simply refuse to answer it.

3. The items are comprehensible that is, they can be answered without any difficulty in terms of the sample chosen.

4. The powerlessness subscale is the only one that is considered a unidimensional scale. For instance, Sterling (1964) found that Dean's subscale formed a unidimemsional scale with a coefficient of reproducibility of .80, a minimum marginal reproducibility of .63 and a difference of .18. This is significant because only in those cases where the coefficient of reproducibility represents an improvement of at least .15 above the minimum marginal reproducibility can the scale be considered a legitimate unidimensional scale. In addition, Dean found that the split-half reliability of the powerlessness subscale = 0.78 (N=384) when corrected by the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula.

Meaninglessness: Research Background

One form of the meaninglessness discussed in the literature is Seeman's (1959), the definition of which refers to "the low expectency that satisfactory predictions about the future can be made (p. 786). In this sense, meaninglessness focuses on "the individuals sense of understanding of the events in which he is engaged" (p. 786). Similarly, Middleton (1963) also extracts agreement or disagreement suggesting meaninglessness to the statement: "Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on" (p. 673). The feelings these writers are concerned with refer to feelings a person may have about events which are incomprehensible.

The Meaninglessness Scale

Because of similarity with definition to Seeman's (1959) conception of meaninglessness, Bolton (1972) argues that one of the best scales for measuring the meaninglessness is Srole's "anomie" scale which concerns "...the individual's perception of the social order as fickle or unpredictable" (p. 544) or "...where the individual cannot predict with confidences of acting on a given belief" (Seeman, 1972, p. 786).

Srole (1956) derived a continuum upon which the societal concept of anomie is distinguished from the sociological one. He refers to this continuum as measuring the "eunomia"-"anomia" dimensions of integratedness in the

social system and integratedness of individuals life organization in a specific social field or social system (the subjective and objective components highlighted in Chapter II). He states that eunomia and anomia could:

> ....be applied to the parallel continuum of variations seen from the microscopic or molecular view of individuals as they are integrated in the total action fields of their interpersonal relationships and reference groups (p. 710).

However, Srole's research measures the subjective component. Thus Srole's concept of anomie is distinct from Durkheim's concept of anomie or "lack of integratedness". Specifically "focusing on individuals rather than of groups or societies" (Srole, 1956, p. 164, Meier & Bell, 1957, p. 191), Srole argues his scale is an attempt to measure interpersonal alienation stating:

> ...the immediate analytical objective would be to place individuals on a eunomia-anomia continuum representing variations in interpersonal intergration with social fields....this variable is conceived as referring to the individual's generalized, pervasive sense of self to others belongingness at one extreme compounded with self to others distance and self to others alienation at the other pole on the continuum (p. 711).

Although Srole's scale deals with only individual states of consciousness, this is not to say that "Srole's psychlogical eunomia-anomia entirely leaves out the social system" (Sterling, 1964, p. 45). Srole argues "...the condition is regarded a variable dependent on both sociological and psychological processes" (p. 711).

The hypothesis that anomia results when individuals lack access to means for achieving life goals is based on the structural factors determining an individual's life chances - factors such as occupation, income, education, the degree of commitment to certain values, beliefs and attitudes, to name a few. Differences in terms of these factors result in "...descrepancies in access in achievement of life goals to participate as an effective and meaningful member of society" (Bell, 1957, p. 190) as measured by Srole's anomia scale.

Having tested the scale, Srole reported a coefficient reproducibility of .90 and a coefficient of scalability of .65. He also reported that it satisfied the criteria of unidimensionality (it measured a single universe of content). Other published research has also helped standardize Srole's Anomia scale (see Biggs, Vaughen and Donart, 1972; Neil and Rettig, 1967).

Although the above presents Srole's scale as a valid and reliable instrument to measure psychological states of anomia, several limitations should be mentioned. Srole admits the fact that the scale contains only five items may be a limitation. He suggests that each of the five items could be better represented by a series of items comprising sub-scales. Another limitation is that while responses of "agree" always indicates anomia, the scale does not distinguish between a person who is "down and out" being susceptible to scoring high on anomic measures. In other

words, the scale may not be differentiating between an anomic conditions and a psychological condition of "hopelessness" or "despair" (Nettler, 1957; Bell, 1957; Meier & Bell, 1959; Middleton, 1963).

Although Meier and Bell (1959) critisized Srole's scale which they attributed originally to Gwynn Nettler, because it is sensitive to despair, it cannot be said that Srole's scale should be discounted on these grounds. For it has not been established in the literature that objective anomie does not to some extent, contain feelings of despair. They still used Srole's scale and obtained significant findings related to their own research efforts.

Other researchers such as Seeman (1959) and Bolton (1972) have suggested that Srole's scale may be measuring attitudes linked with meaninglessness. They point out for example, that question item #2 of Srole's scale i.e., "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself", is designed to measure the perception of the social order as essentially unpredictable. Srole concurs with this saying, "...if the person perceives the social order in these terms, it would induce a sense (or feeling) that the person could accomplish little toward realizing future life goals" (p. 720). Similarily item #5: "These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on", relates to the individual's perception that "his framework of immediate personal relationships, the very rock of his social

existance, was no longer predictive or supportive (Srole 1956, p. 720).

Bolton went on to use Srole's scale as an index of meaninglessness to highlight differences between groups; to predict variations in radical behavior with respect to philosophies held by individuals and action patterns. Results show that meaninglessness was significantly related to psychological orientations held and social action patterns among groups.

It should be noted that accommodation of Srole's scale to the meaninglessness component of alienation certain changes were made by Bolton with reference to scoring. Srole uses a 1-0 scoring technique where only extreme answers on 5 point range are scored anomic. However, as Bolton (1971) states:

> ...but responses of 'uncertain' or even 'disagree' (as distinct from 'strongly disagree') are more suggestive of uncertainty about predictions of outcomes on items from Srole's scale....Thus, in the present study a 1-2-3-4-5 scoring technique was used for the five possible responses. Scored thus, Srole's anomia scale seems a good measure of the degree to which respondents percieve the social environment as unpredictable....the items scaled well on the population used in the present study, with $\underline{r}$'s for the relation between individual item and total test score all being between .85 and .98. (p. 544).

Bolton's research indicates it is possible that Srole's scale can be used for determining the impact of market forces and bureacracy on individual's consciousness in

terms of meaninglessness. Student's perceptions of the social order (the market) as essentially fickle or unpredictable may be determined by their comprehension related to role preparation and role allocation or as Seeman (1972a) states, "...perceiving the world as an orderly and efficient system as opposed to chaotic disorder" (p. 757).

Since Srole's Anomia Scale seems to measure the degree respondents perceive the social environment as unpredictable or incomprehensible, five opinion type statements adapted from Srole's scale are included in this research to measure the meaninglessness component of alienation (see Unemployment Questionnaire: Appendix A).

Social Isolation: Research Background

The third scale to consider for measuring the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation is Nettler's (1957) "Self-estrangement" scale. Nettler's view of self-estrangement as social isolation highlights separation between the individual and others in society. The degree of congruence between one's attitudes and values and the dominant values of groups or society determine the degree of social isolation experienced.

Although Nettler's research focuses on acceptance of popular cultural standards, at issue here, in terms of separation, is the individual's feeling of "rejection" (Nettler, 1957) "indifference" (Middleton, 1963) or

"detachment" (Seeman, 1972a) from fundamental values of society and the dominant culture it carries. Thus where Grodzin (1956), views this form of alienation as "...the state in which individuals feel no sense of belonging to their community or nation" (p. 134), for Middleton (1963), to be alienated from society is simply to feel "uninterested" in it. From another perspective, where Bowman (1956) views the scholar alienated in terms of isolation from others, Marx viewed one form of self-estrangement as a consequence of the division of labour which creates "...a conflict between the interests of the single individual...and the common interests of all individuals" (1932, p. 23). In short, self-estrangement as defined by the above authors and more importantly by Nettler, may be viewed specifically as highlighting isolation from others (Schacht, 1971, p. 177).

According to Nettler, self-estrangement may be determined by attitudes towards familism, nationalism and the voting process, religion and the telic view of life, mass media and mass taste, or popular education. It should be noted however, that the empirical form of self-estrangement exemplifies a slightly modified version of Marx's view concerning alienation from others. For instance, Marx views interpersonal estrangement as a consequence of living in civil society. Due to the fact that civil society is underscored by a capitalistic economic system of alienation, the whole of society

according to Marx is organized to "...facilitate the accumulation of private property through exploitation" (Schacht, 1970, p. 97). For this purpose the contracting of labour for wages has been developed where men are encouraged and compelled to enter. Marx bases his conclusions about the capitalist system in terms of the alienation of labour and the product which results. In short, his position is not that the act of contracting to work for another man itself alienates the individual from others. Rather the point, as Schacht (1971) indicates is that:

> ...the alienation of the individual from others is related to the alienation of his labour and product as one result to another of his existence under the general economic organization which is the basis of civil society. It is the latter of which this alienation is the direct consequence (p. 88).

What this means, according to Schacht is that Marx overstates his case when he assumes that "(u)nder these conditions all are infected with egoism and therefore each man is alienated from others" (p. 99). For it is quite possible, as Hegel quite rightly observes, for an individual to cease to identify with the values of his society, and to adopt an attitude of opposition to them. Marx himself is a case in point. Therefore, if the empirical use of self-estrangement is considered, alienation from others may be viewed in situation-specific

terms. Under this condition, the suggestion is that one may be alienated from some but not all others, and in this way the term "comprehends social relations based on indifference, intimacy or even antagonism" (Schacht, 1970, p. 97). Viewed in this mannner, enables empirical testing of this definition.

The Social Isolation Scale

Nettler's definition of social isolation or the feeling of estrangement from society, is measured by a 17 item questionnaire scale which he feels differentiates alienation from others (See Appendix A: Unemployment Questionnaire).

Nettler administered the scale to a number of known aliens as well as to a random sample. Not only was the scale found to be unidimensional, but as Nettler concludes:

> There seems little doubt that this scale measures the dimension of estrangement from our society. The mean score of the known group of "aliens" is 17.05 where possible scores range from 17 (unalienated) to 34 (alienated). The mean score for 515 subjects exclusive of our 37 models is 28.56, SD = 2.92, a highly significant difference (p. 675).

Nettler also found that the scale correlated with Srole's (1956) "Anomia" scale. For 345 subjects the Pearsonian coefficient = +.309. He further suggests that probable correlates with the scale include: creativity, altruism, mental emotional disorder, a proclivity to suicide, a proneness to chemical addictions, a tendency

towards criminal behavior, and to be poor marriage risks.

Based on the above, Nettler's social isolation scale seems practical to use in this research since unemployment may alienate one's product and labour and intensify man's alienation from significant others. Students who cannot find jobs in their professions would experience high social isolation by virtue of being separated from those who are working in professions, but not necessarily from all others in society. In effect, unemployment would have the result of driving a wedge between man's control over the production process, of having control over one's product and more importantly here, of having social relations with others who could guide a student in successfully entering their careers.

Nettler uses a two-category response mode (yes/no; true/false) format for obtaining data. A score of "1" is assigned for "yes/true" responses, and "2" for "no/false". Total possible number of true responses (17 questions X 1) indicates the degree of committment by that subject to popular culture whereas possible total unfavorable responses (17 questions X 2) indicates the degree of committment to something other than popular culture.

Research Procedures

The research procedure is a summary of each step in the execution of the research. It includes:

1. Sampling procedures and the sample
2. Instructions to participants
3. Definitions of the independent and dependent variables, and scoring procedures.

Sampling Procedure

The "convenience sampling method" was used in this study. This method involves choosing the available cases at hand until the sample reaches its designated size. This method aims for "inclusion in the sample of diverse elements of the population and...that these diverse elements are taken account of in the proportions in which they occur in the population" (Kidder, 1981, p. 424). The critical requirement in convenience sampling is that there be enough cases from each stratum under study to make possible an estimate of the population stratum value. In this way, Kidder claims "one can reasonably estimate the proportion that each stratum constitutes in the total population and where the selection of a sample is a replica of the population to which one wants to generalize (e.g., a hypothetical population" (pp. 426, 443)).

This study is exploratory in nature since it is the first known study to examine the relationship between unemployment and the concept of alienation as reification. Although there are drawbacks using the convenience sampling plan, the sample of 225 participants is sufficient to represent the population from which it is drawn. Stability

is reinforced in research findings obtained in the sense that "...selection maximized the likelihood of differences among the elements in the samples chosen" (Kidder, 1981, p. 427). Thus, several background characteristics were taken into account (age, sex, education and socioeconomic status) not only to replicate previous findings (Coleman, 1964; Meier & Bell, 1956; O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1984; Tiggmann & Winefield, 1985) but also to generate new findings to make generalizations about university students perceptions of unemployment.

Limitations using the convenience sampling method include: it does not ensure randomness thereby limiting "external" validity of the findings and also there is no way of estimating the probability that each element of the population has been included in the sample. Several advantages of using this method are to be able to theorize, to obtain ideas, good insights, as well as availability and access to a a pre-existing population.

Sample

The sample is comprised of 225 students selected from current full-time unemployed undergraduate students in the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Business Administration. Due to their availability, the sample consists of Education students specializing in elementary / secondary education in contrast to Business students specializing in accounting, marketing, industrial and legal

relations, or management. The sample is divided into two groups consisting of 112 students from each of the faculties. Education students, specializing in elementary/secondary routes, were obtained from senior level Educational Foundations courses at the end of the fall session in November, 1986 and again at the beginning of winter session, January, 1987. At approximately the same time, students specializing in marketing, accounting and management were obtained from senior level courses in the Faculty of Business. All participants were in their third and fourth year of their programs.

These faculties were chosen because they represent differences between them in terms of trends in unemployment, education, sex and age. On one hand, unemployment rates for Education graduates are high while for Business graduates they are low. Furthermore, where the Faculty of Education enrols a large proportion of female students, the Faculty of Business is primarily a male dominated faculty although this trend has been changing in recent years.

To illustrate, the female/male ratio in Education is approximately 70/30 whereas female/male ratio in Business Administration is approximately 40/60. In 1987/88 the Education Faculty enrolled 3164 students. Of these, 66.5% or 2106 were female and only 33.4% or 1058 were males. In comparison, the Business Faculty enrolled 1617 students. Of these 43.1% or 698 were females while 56.8% or 919 were

male.

Counterbalancing is also facilitated in terms of unemployment. Although unemployment rates are not available for Education or Business graduates it is logical that unemployment in professions such as teaching, which is dominated by females, is higher than managerial occupations, which are dominated by males, if unemployment rates based on gender are taken into account. As statistics (Statistics Canada, 1987) show, females experience higher unemployment than men with an unemployment rate of only 8.0% as compared to women with an unemployment rate of 12.5%. As figures show, students from the Faculty of Business which enrols greater proportions of males do have better prospects of employment than students graduating from the Faculty of Education which enrols larger proportions of females.

It should be noted that each group is proportionately representative of these characteristics within the faculties. For example, if it is known that 50.0% of the population of students in these faculties lies within a particular age range, say 19-23, selection ensured that 50.0% of the sample fell within that range. Using this approach helped dilineate differences between the groups based on their perceptions of unemployment.

Instructions to Participants

Prior to filling out the unemployment questionnaire, (see Appendix) participants were informed of the general

nature and objectives of the research inasmuch as these are spelled-out in the beginning of the questionnaire itself. The specifics of the study were not given out prior to data collection since communication pertaining to the nature and objectives of the research might have created a bias in terms of responding to questions. Thus data collection consisted of two parts: Part One included the general nature and objectives of the research and Part Two, debriefing participants on the specifics of measurment related to the objectives.

Part One: Students were told that the purpose of this research was to determine the impact unemployment has on graduates who are prevented from finding jobs in their chosen professions and how would this condition affects their perception of what success in life and work would mean. Students were also told that participating in the study was completely voluntary, confidential and all participants would remain anonomous. Finally, students were told that they would be debriefed upon completion of the questionnaire.

Part Two: Debriefing consisted of information on how the impact of unemployment was determined via alienation scales i.e., Dean's (1961) Powerlessness Scale, Srole's (1956) Anomie scale and Nettler's (1957) Isolation scale, included in the questionnaire itself. Students were informed of certain questions which served as validity

checks on specific aspects of the three alienation scales in relation to prior research outcomes in the field.

To maximize efficiency, questionnaires were handed out prior to explanation of Part One. The maximum time alloted for completing the questionnaire was 20-25 minutes. Part One was 5 minutes, questionnaire completion 10-15 minutes and Part Two, Debriefing 5-7 minutes.

Definitions and Scoring Procedures

Data obtained for this study was generated from the Faculty of Business and the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta. The original sample included 225 cases however prior to analysis 10 questionnaires were excluded. These discards included "employed" participants and those who did not complete the entire questionnaire.

Thus the total sample is comprised of 215 full-time students of which 106 students are from the Faculty of Education and 109 are from the Faculty of Business. Of the total sample 92 were males and 123 were females. Ages ranged from 19 to 37 years, thus the total sample was divided into three age groups--under 21, 58 students aged 19 and 20; 81 students aged 21 and 22 years; and 23 and over categorized 72 students aged 23-37. Division of these groups was not only based on the research review (Chapter II) which shows that the unemployment experience is different for each age category but also to get a fairly even distribution of students in each of the groups.

The main independent variable is "expectation of unemployment". Two methods of estimating unemployment are included. The first method (Question #8, Unemployment Questionnaire) asks for a student's subjective view of "prospects of employment after graduation". This involves checking the appropriate category response item which ranges from "excellent", "good", "fair", "poor", and "very poor". Due to the small numbers of students in fair, poor and very poor categories, these were reduced to one category. Regrouped, "prospects for unemployment" categories include: excellent, good and poor.

The second way of determining a student's expectation of unemployment included in the questionaire (Question #10) asks for a student's "estimation of unemployent in their chosen field". In this case, students estimate unemployment by specifying the percentage level of unemployment in their fields. Interestingly, student's estimations, compared to actual figures obtained from Statistics Canada (1987), show high levels of overestimation of unemployment in professional occupations. Because students estimations of unemployment were unrealistic, i.e., 75.0% think unemployment rates are 50.0% or higher in their chosen profession), their subjective qualitative judgments (excellent, good, fair, poor) were used in the analysis. It should be noted that there was a correspondence between the qualitative and quantitative judgments. In other words, those respondents who rated

their employment prospects as excellent judge unemployment rates as low. In contrast, those who judged their employment prospects as poor were the ones who gave highly inflated estimates of unemployment. To illustrate, nearly one-half or 46.9% who said job prospects were "excellent" extimated unemployment below 20.0% while only 29.9% of those who said "good" or "fair" estimated unemployment below 20.0%. Only 11.0% of those who said job prospects were "poor" estimated uemployment in their chosen profession less than 20.0%.

Although unemployment rates are not available at job entry level for 1987, a survey of 1982 graduates and the types of jobs secured two years later show the following trends. Nationally, the unemployment rate of 1982 graduates as of June 1984 was 7.0% (National Graduates Survey, June/July 1984, p. 31). Provincially, the unemployment experience for 1982 graduates show unemployment rate for Business was 8.0% as compared to Education at 9.0% (p. 30). In terms of the type of work found after graduating, 55.0% of all 1982 graduates with degrees secured jobs relating to their degrees; 32.0% of the graduates secured jobs partially related to their degrees whereas 13.0% of all graduates had jobs not at all related to their degrees.

1987 statistics for the Alberta region show a total of 372,000 people worked in Professional and Managerial occupations. Distributions by "sex" show that 206,000

males compared to 166,000 females worked in these occupations. As of December, 1987 the rate of unemployment for females was 12.0%, for males it was only 8.0%. Provincially, the overall rate of unemployment for professional occupations was 9.6% (Statistics Canada, 1987). As of March, 1989 Professional and Managerial occupations have an unemployment rate of 8.1% (The Labour Force, 1989).

The responses of individuals in this study are at considerable variance from actual levels. 75 students out of 215 or 35.0% estimated unemployment for their chosen profession to be more than 50.0% while almost half, 46.0% estimated unemployment rates in their chosen fields over 35.0%. Unemployment levels may be high but not as high as 50.0%.

The main dependent variable(s) is Alienation and its components Powerlessness, Meaninglessness and Isolation. Measures for these variables were obtained from Likert-type scales including Dean's (1961) "Powerlessness scale", Srole's (1956) "Anomie scale" and Nettler's (1957) "Social Isolation scale" (Appendix A, Unemployment Questionnaire).

The midpoint in the range of scores possible on test is used as the cut point defining high and/or low alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation. The reason that the midpoint is used rather than the mean, median or even midpoint of scores in the

study is because it is a "conservative" indicator of high scores.

To illustrate, the "Total" alienation score (Alien = P+M+I) is derived by summating all three scales; lowest actual score was 31 (out of 215 cases) and 104 was the highest. Total alienation scores are dichotomized from the least alienated (31) to the most alienated (104). To derive the midpoint subtract 31 from 104; it equals 73. Dividing 73 by 2; it equals 36.5. By adding 36.5 to 31 = 67.5 or subtracting 104 - 36.5 = 67.5, the midpoint rounded is 67. Thus the "low" alienation category is comprised of scores between 31 and 67, scores between 68 and 104 define "high" alienation.

Analysis

Using contingency tables, χ^2 was used in this study as a "test of independence". Specifically, χ^2 statistic was used to test for significance between the independent variable(s) and the dependent variable(s); for comparing differences between two sets of data: the collected (observed) data to the hypothetical data (the expected data--the data illustrating the null hypothesis).

When sets of observed and expected frequencies are compared, a value for χ^2 may be computed using the formula:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{\Sigma[\ (O - E)^2]}{E}$$

O = observed frequency
E = expected frequency

χ^2 as a Test of Independence

As stated above, chi square is used to test the "independence" of two variables: expectation of unemployment and alienation. For example, using a 2 X 2 "contingency table", one question is whether a person's alienation level is contingent upon sex. The HO states that alienation and sex in the population are independent-that knowing a persons sex gives no clue regarding their alienation level or vice versa. In this case, rejection of HO would support the alternative hypothesis that sex and alienation are not independent but related--that knowing a persons sex does help to predict the degree of his or her alienation and that alienation is contingent upon sex.

However, if after calculating χ^2 it was found that sex did influence alienation levels experienced from unemployment, the hypothesis that alienation levels are influenced by sex, that alienation and sex in the population are not independent but related, would be accepted.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

This chapter looks at the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation and the components of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and social isolation. Subsequently, the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and alienation is examined when controls for faculty, sex, age, and mother's/father's occupation are introduced.

Description Of The Sample

The sample is comprised of 215 full-time students at the University of Alberta, 106 students from the Faculty of Education and 109 from the Faculty of Business. Of the total sample 92 were males and 123 were females. Ages ranged from 19 to 37 years, thus the total sample was divided into three age categories--"under 21 years", 58 students aged 19 and 20; a middle category, 81 students aged "21 and 22 years" and 72 students aged 23-37 comprise the "23 years and over" category.

"Expectation of unemployment" refers to an individual's belief about finding a job in their professions after graduation. Expectation of unemployment is defined by comparing student's estimations of employment and unemployment rates in their chosen professions to actual unemployment rates for 1987 (see

Chapter IV, Research Methodology, p. 102). Statistics show that full-time unemployment rates "were higher for young people aged 15-24 than the population aged 25 and over throughout the 1980s" (Statistics Canada, 1986, p. 32). In 1983, the unemployment rates for both men and women aged 15-24 were 26.5% and 23.1% respectively. These rates were considerabley higher than the official unemployment rates for both men (20.4%) and women (17.0%). By 1986 the situation improved for this age group although the rates of unemployment remained high. For men, the unemployment rate was 20.2% while women were at the 19.7% level. In comparison the official unemployment rates for men aged 15-24 were 16.5% and 13.8% for women.

For those aged 25 years and over, women experienced higher unemployment rates than men. In 1983, the unemployment rate for women was 13.1% while the rate for men was only 9.8%. Unemployment rates dropped considerably by 1986 but again women (11.9%) had higher unemployment rates than men (8.2%) (Canadian Social Trends, 1986, p. 32).

Alienation levels were based upon scoring procedures outlined in Chapter IV (pp. 104-105). As mentioned earlier, the midpoint in the range of scores possible on the alienation scale(s) was used as the cut point defining high and/or low alienation. The reason that the midpoint is used rather than the mean, median, or even the midpoint

of scores in the study is because it is a "conservative" indicator of high scores; if alienation scores were high, then it left no doubt alienation is high. For example, total possible alienation scores ranged from 37-93 . Scores below the midpoint of 67, were labelled low alienation whereas those above this level comprised the high alienation category. Similarly, individual "powerlessness" scores ranged from a low of 12 to a high of 39. Scores above the midpoint of 27, comprised the high powerlessness category, while scores below 27 defined the low powerlessness category. "Meaninglessness" scores ranged from 5-25. Since the midpoint was 15, scores below 15 defined low meaninglessness and scores above 15 defined high meaninglessness. "Isolation" scores ranged from 17-33. Based on the midpoint of 25.5, scores below this level comprised the low category, while scored above 25.5 defined high isolation.

Distributions for Total alienation show, 175 (81.4%) of the sample was below the midpoint and 40 (18.6%) above 67. The mean for the sample was 59.16, with a Standard deviation (SD.) of 8.99. For powerlessness, of the total sample, 87 (40.5%) of the students were above the midpoint with 128 (59.5%) were below 27. The mean was 25, and the SD. 5.37. For meaninglessness, 155 (72.1%) of the total sample was below the midpoint of 15 with 60 (27.9%) above 15. The mean for the sample was 12.81, with a SD. of 2.87. Regarding the distribution of scores for Isolation, 192

(89.3%) of the students were below the midpoint while 23 (10.7%) scored above the midpoint of 26. The mean for the sample was 22.04 and the SD. 2.87.

Profiles Of Alienated Students

The following section profiles alienated students based on the results obtained in this study. In all cases, results show that the greatest proportions of students who expect high unemployment score high on powerlessness. This is true even when control variables; faculty, sex, age, mother's and father's occupation; are introduced into the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation.

Contrary to expectations, students from the Faculty of Business expect higher levels of unemployment after graduation and score higher on all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness; than students from the Faculty of Education. While 21.1% of 106 Business students score high on total alienation, only 16.0% of 109 Education students, do so. 41.7% of Business students score high on powerlessness whereas 39.6% of Education students score high on powerlessness. Finally, 28.4% of Business students score high on meaninglessness, whereas 27.4% of Education students, score high on meaninglessness. As results show, the greater proportion of Education and Business students score high on powerlessness.

One possible reason why Business students are more alienated than Education students could be related to gender. Results show that females expect higher levels of unemployment and are more alienated than males on all measures of alienation. However, the greatest differences between males and females occur in the case of powerlessness where 50.4% of females scoring high on powerlessness, is almost twice the level of 27.2% of males scoring high on powerlessness.

Although smaller proportions of female students are registered in the Faculty of Business than in the Faculty of Education, it is possible that the high levels of powerlessness experienced by females contributes substantially to the higher levels of alienation shown in the Faculty of Business. Faculty differences could also be influenced by factors such as age, mother's and father's occupation.

Younger aged students, under 21 years, expect higher levels of unemployment and score higher on all measures of alienation than do their peers aged 22-23 years or those aged 23 years and over. In all cases, powerlessness is the main form of alienation experienced: the youngest aged students, under 21 years, show the highest levels of powerlessness whereas the oldest students, aged 23 years and over, show the lowest levels of powerlessness.

Regarding mother's occupation, trends indicate that students of unskilled or housewife mothers expect higher

levels of unemployment and score higher levels of alienation than do students whose mothers work as professionals.

The main form of alienation experienced by all mother's occupational groups is powerlessness. While 45.3% of unskilled mother's children score high on powerlessness and 43.1% of housewife mother's children score high on powerlessness, only 33.3% of professional mother's children, do so.

In terms of father's occupation, professional father's children expect lower levels of unemployment and score lower on all measures of alienation than do unskilled or skilled father's children. Powerlessness is the main form of alienation experienced by all father's occupational groups. While 43.2% of unskilled father's children score high on powerlessness, and 42.6% of skilled father's children score high on powerlessness only 34.8% of professional father's children, do so.

Overall, faculty differences could be the result of sex, age, mother's and father's occupation influencing the degree that expectation of unemployment leads to alienation. Since Business students are more alienated than Education students, it is possible that the Faculty of Business has greater proportions of young aged females and/or males i.e., below 21 years, with mother's working in unskilled or housewife occupations and father's working as skilled or unskilled labour.

Expectation Of Unemployment By Measures of Alienation

In Chapter I, the Marxian theory of reification was used to explain the connection between unemployment and alienation. Briefly, the idea proposed was that much of the alienation experienced in capitalist society is determined by two reifying social processes, the market (laws of supply and demand) and bureaucracy. By linking these two structural forces to unemployment it was hypothesized that a direct relationship exists between unemployment and alienation as well as between expectation of unemployment and total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation.

> H: "Those individuals who anticipate high unemployment in their chosen fields will be the ones who will experience alienation".

Total Alienation

Results of Table 5:1 clearly show that a direct relationship between expectancy of unemployment and total alienation does indeed exist. Looking first at expectation of unemployment, a considerable degree of pessimissm about the labour market is evident. Only 15.3% (33 students) of the 215 respondents expressed low expectancy of unemployment. A much larger number, 43.3% or 93 of the respondents, expect medium unemployment. An almost equal proportion of 41.4% or 89 respondents expected to experience high levels of unemployment. Overall, these students had a grim and unrealistic view of their job

prospects after graduation based on the actual unemployment rate for the education and the business professions which in 1987 was 9.6% .

As expectancy of unemployment increased so did the proportion of students with high alienation scores. Of 33 students with "low" expectations of unemployment (6.1%) had high alienation scores. The proportion scoring high on alienation increases to 15.1% in the medium unemplomeent category, with a substantial increase to 27.0% of 89 students with high expectations of unemployment scoring high on alienation. A difference of 21 percentage points separate those who estimate high unemployment from those who estimate low unemployment in terms of them scoring high on alienation. Conversly of the 33 students with low expectations of unemployment, 93.9% of 31 students also scored low alienation. This dropped to 84.9% of 79 students for medium and further decreased to 73% of 89 students with high expectations of unemployment. The relationship between expectation of unemployment and high alienation is further supported by the χ^2 test which is significant at the .05 level.

As the results in Table 5:1 clearly show, as expectancy of unemployment increased a greater percentage of students experienced high alienation scores. This supports the hypothesis that a direct relationship exists between expectation of unemployment and total alienation.

TABLE 5:1

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY TOTAL ALIENATION

Expectancy of Unemployment	Total Alienation Scores Low	High	Totals
Low	93.9 (31)	6.1 (2)	15.3 (33)
Medium	84.9 (79)	15.1 (14)	43.3 (93)
High	73.0 (65)	27.0 (24)	41.4 (89)
	χ^2=8.31	df.=2	p≤*.0157
Totals %	81.4 (175)	18.6 (40)	100.0 (215)

p≤.05

TABLE 5:2

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY POWERLESSNESS

Expectancy of Unemployment	Powerlessness Scores Low	High	Totals
Low	81.8 (27)	18.2 (6)	15.3 (33)
Medium	66.7 (62)	33.3 (31)	43.3 (93)
High	43.8 (39)	56.2 (50)	41.4 (89)
	χ^2=17.88	df.=2	p≤*.0001
Totals %	59.5 (128)	40.5 (87)	100.0 (215)

p*.05.

Powerlessness

As indicated in Chapter I another consequence of reification is the idea that living in a commodity-oriented society forces individuals (as commodities) to "sell" themselves, their skills and talents, according to the laws of supply and demand of the capitalist market system. However, if the supply of labor is larger than certain professions can sustain, many highly trained individuals will undoubtably have to secure jobs outside their chosen profession in order to survive. If students feel they have little control over outcomes in terms of securing work in their chosen field they will experience powerlessness.

> H1: "Those individuals who anticipate unemployment in their chosen fields will be the ones who experience powerlessness".

As the results in Table 5:2 show, a direct relationship exists between expectation of unemployment and powerlessness. Although the relationship is in the same direction as those for total alienation, a more dramatic increase in students powerlessness scores occurs as expectancy of unemployment rises from low to high.

Almost three times as many students with high expectations of unemployment also showed high powerlessness as compared to those students who had low expectations of unemployment. Only 18.2% or 6 students with low expectations of unemployment scored high on powerlessness.

This powerlessness figure nearly doubles to 33.3% for students with medium expectations of unemployment and triples to 56.2% for those students with high expectations of unemployment.

Conversely, 81.8% or 27 students expected low unemployment and scored low on powerlessness, dropping to 66.7% or 62 students who expected medium unemployment and scored low powerlessness and dropping further to 43.8% or 39 students who expected high unemployment and scored low on powerlessness.

Overall, these results clearly show that a direct relationship exists between expectation of unemployment and powerlessness. Again the findings are significant at the .05 level or better.

Meaninglessness

The hypothesis that unemployment is related to meaninglessness is based on the idea that because students cannot predict outcomes on the bases of their education training and/or because they lack comprehension about market forces of supply and demand in certain professional fields, they have difficulty making sense of their lives. Thus the hypothesis:

> H2: "Those individuals who anticipate unemployment in their chosen fields will be the ones who experience meaninglessness".

Just as the results show a direct relationship between unemployment and total alienation and powerlessness, the figures regarding the relationship between expectation of unemployment and meaninglessness also shows a direct relationship. Table 5:3 results show that as expectancy of unemployment increased from low to high, more students experienced high meaninglessness levels. Of 33 students with low expectations of unemployment 12.1% had high meaninglessness scores; of 93 students who had medium expectations of unemployment 19.4% had high meaninglessness scores. The figures double to 42.7% for those who estimate high expectations of unemployment.

Conversely, as expectation of unemployment decreased so did students' meaninglessness levels. Of 33 students having low expectations of unemployment 87.9% or 29 scored low on meaninglessness, dropping to 80.6% of 75 students with medium expectations of unemployment/low meaninglessness, and dropping further to 57.3% of 51 students for high expectancy/low meaninglessness categories.

More than 30 percentage points separate students with low expectancy of unemployment/high meaninglessness from those having a high expectancy/high meaninglessness. The results support the hypothesis that a direct relationship exists between unemployment and the meaninglessness component of alienation and are significant at the .05 level or better.

TABLE 5:3

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY MEANINGLESSNESS

Expectancy of Unemployment	Meaninglessness Scores Low	High	Totals
Low	87.9 (29)	12.1 (4)	15.3 (33)
Medium	80.6 (75)	19.4 (18)	43.3 (93)
High	57.3 (51)	42.7 (38)	41.4 (89)
	χ^2=17.14	df.=2	p≤*.0002
Total %	72.1 (155)	27.9 (60)	100.0 (215)

p≤.05.

TABLE 5:4

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY SOCIAL ISOLATION

Expectancy of Unemployment	Isolation Scores Low	High	Totals
Low	90.9 (30)	9.1 (3)	15.3 (33)
Medium	89.2 (83)	10.8 (10)	43.3 (93)
High	88.8 (79)	11.2 (10)	41.4 (89)
Totals %	89.3 (192)	10.7 (23)	100.0 (215)
	χ^2=.1164	df.=2	p≤.9434

p≤.05.

Social Isolation

It was hypothesized in chapter I that unemployment would cause social isolation for students if they could not find work in their chosen professions; they would be isolated from other professionals with values corresponding to their own and could not "fashion" their careers as a student entering their professions. Thus the hypothesis:

> H3: "Those individuals who anticipate unemployment in their chosen fields will be the ones who experience isolation".

In contrast to the powerlessness and meaninglessness subscores of alienation, social isolation shows only a weak relationship to expectation of unemployment. As Table 5:4 shows 9.1% of those with low expectancy of unemployment experience high social isolation, 10.8% of those with medium expectancy of unemployment experience high social isolation, while 11.2% of those students with high expectancy of unemployment experienced high social isolation. Results show little difference in the level of social isolation for students with different expectations for unemployment. This observation is reinforced by the figures for statistical significance.

One possible explanation is that many of students attending university have the opportunity for frequent socialization on and off the campus and therefore associating with professionals in their chosen professions may not be as important as being isolated from their peers.

If this is true, isolation levels would below in terms of being isolated from peers as opposed to isolation from professionals in the field.

Another reason why expectation of unemployment and isolation may not be related is that the scale is not sensitive to the "isolation from others" students would experience from not working in their chosen professions. In fact, none of the items on the isolation scale address work values, beliefs, or attitudes towards work or working.

Therefore, because of the small numbers of students scoring hign on social isolation is small and the relationship between expectation of unemployment did not reach significance at the .05 level no further analysis using this variable seems warranted. Particularily because of the small numbers and the fact that the relationship is not substantiated, it does not make sense to discuss findings with analysis of controls faculty, sex, age, mother's and father's occupation. Though analysis was done, none of the findings were significant and therefore no discussion of this dependent variable is included in the following sections.

Expectation of Unemployment By Alienation Contrclling for Faculty, Sex, Age, Mother's/Father's Occupation

Faculty, age, sex, mother's/father's occupation were introduced as controls into the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation. Results reinforce the findings of previous studies (reviewed in

Chapter III), and also provide alternative explanations for the relationship between unemployment and alienation.

In the following sections when the term "alienation" is used it will refer to all four dependent variables: total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness and social isolation. When the term "total alienation" is used it specifically refers to the summated scores of powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation and thus total alienation is distinct from the general term alienation.

Upon completing data analysis with controls, the problem of small frequencies was encountered especially for age and to a lesser degree mother's and father's occupation. With age for example, the categories consisted of 3 age bands, "under 21", "21 and 22 years" and "23 years and over". Since statistical analyisis required 18 cells, empty cells resulted and in a number of other cells where only 1-3 individuals were found. With this type of problem it is unlikely that statistically significant results could be obtained. In this case therefore, rather than focusing strictly on statistical significance, differences will be highlighted in more general substantive terms.

Faculty, Expectation Of Unemployment and Measures of Alienation

Faculty is used in this study on the assumption that students expectations of securing work is based upon the

faculty in which they are currently registered and also that these are professional faculties that lead to particular kinds of jobs, i.e., Business graduates find managerial/administrative work, Education graduates find work in teaching professions. Although none of the studies reviewed specifically used university faculty as a control, one study by Dowling and O'Brien (1981) implies that unemployment would cause greater powerlessness especially for students advancing their education. This is based on the idea that education promotes in students "a greater increase in the desire to influence their environment" (p. 185); the desire to control outcomes concerning work secured. In effect, unemployment would reduce any control individuals may have over the occupational outcomes they desire and thus lead to greater powerlessness. Since unemployment levels for education graduates have been higher in recent years than they have been for business graduates, their levels of alienation should reflect that fact.

To illustrate, in 1984, statistics show that the unemployment rate for 1982 Business graduates was 8.0% while for Education graduates the unemployment rate was 9.0% (Statistics Canada, 1986). Although no data concerning graduates is available for current 1987 rates, a Statistics Canada survey (December, 1987) shows the unemployment rate for males, who dominate Business

(managerial) occupations, is 8.0%, compared to women in professional occupations (teaching), is 11.0%.

Total Alienation

Examining the relationship between expectancy of unemployment by 'total' alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness, and social isolation with faculty controlled, trends that appear most significant are as follows.

As Table 5:5 results show, among Education students 10.4% expected low unemployment, 39.6% medium expectations of unemployment and 50.0% or one-half had high expectations of unemployment. For Business students a larger proportion, 20.2%, had low expectations of unemployment, 46.8% medium unemployment while 33.0% had high expectancy of unemployment. In the case of Business, the largest proportion of students had medium expectancy of unemployment (46.8% of 109 students). The majority of Education students had high expectations of high unemployment (50.0% of 106 students).

Regarding total alienation, Education and Business faculty are very similar in terms of their total alienation scores although contrary to expectation, Education students show slightly less alienation. 21.1% of Business students score high on total alienation while only 16.0% of Education students do so.

In both Education and Business a direct relationship

TABLE 5:5

FACULTY, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY TOTAL ALIENATION

Expectancy of Unemployment	Student's Total Alienation Scores					
	Education			Business		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	100.0 (11)	0.0 (0)	10.4 (11)	90.9 (20)	9.1 (2)	20.2 (22)
Medium	85.7 (36)	14.3 (6)	39.6 (42)	84.3 (43)	15.7 (8)	46.8 (51)
High	79.2 (42)	20.8 (11)	50.0 (53)	63.9 (23)	36.1 (13)	33.0 (36)
	χ^2=7.68	df.=2	p≤*.020			
Total %	84.0 (89)	16.0 (17)	100 (106)	78.9 (86)	21.1 (23)	100 (109)

p-.05

TABLE 5:6

FACULTY, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY POWERLESSNESS

Expectancy of Unemployment	Student's Powerlessness Scores					
	Education$_1$			Business$_2$		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	90.9 (10)	9.1 (1)	10.4 (11)	77.3 (17)	22.7 (5)	20.2 (22)
Medium	71.4 (30)	28.6 (12)	39.6 (42)	62.7 (32)	37.3 (19)	46.8 (51)
High	45.3 (24)	54.7 (29)	50.0 (53)	41.7 (15)	58.3 (21)	33.0 (36)
	χ^2_1=11.47	df.=2	*.003	χ^2_2=7.78	df.=2	*.020
Total %	60.4 (64)	39.6 (42)	100 (106)	58.7 (64)	41.7 (45)	100 (109)

p≤.05

is seen between expectancies of unemployment and total alienation although the relationship is stronger for Business. While no students in Education with low expectancy of unemployment show high alienation, as expectancy of unemployment increased the number scoring high on total alienation also increased so that in the medium expectancy range, 14.3% expressed high alienation, while of those who expected high unemployment, 20.8% scored high on total alienation. Comparing these to the Business faculty, 9.1% (2 students) with low expectations of unemployment scored high on alienation, rising to 15.7% in the medium expectancy group and increasing further to 36.1% for those who expected high unemployment and scored high on 'total alienation'.

While it had been expected that the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and Education faculty would have been higher such is not the case. Although the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and alienation is direct in both faculties, for Business the relationship is more marked with students expressing higher alienation levels than Education Faculty students. In fact, the relationship reaches significance only in the case of Business students.

Powerlessness

As in the case of "total alienation", a larger proportion of Business faculty students also express high

powerlessness although the difference is small--41.7% for Business compared to 39.6% for Education. Results of Table 5:6 show that a smaller proportion of Education faculty students with low expectancy of unemployment scored high on powerlessness 9.1% (N=1) compared to Business students 22.7%. Although a 13.6% difference exists between these two groups, these results are questionable due to the small number of Education students (1) in the low expectancy of unemployment/high powerlessness category.

As expectations of unemployment increased so did the proportions of Education students expressing high powerlessness--28.6% of those with medium expectations of unemployment rising to 54.7% of those with high expectations of unemployment. In the case of Business, 22.7% expected low unemployment and scored high on powerlessness, rising to 37.3% for those with medium expectations and further increasing to 58.3% for students with high expectations scoring high on powerlessness.

What is most notable here is the increase in the proportion of Education students who score high on powerlessness. For Education alienation increases from 9.1% for those with low expectations of unemployment to 54.7% of those with high expectations of unemployment--a rise of 45.6 percentage points. In Business increasing expectancies of unemployment also show a corresponding rise in the proportion of students who score high on powerlessness however the spread here is only 22.7% to

58.3%--a 35.4 percentage point increase.

While it had been expected that the relationship between expectation of unemployment and powerlessness would have been higher for Education students, on the contrary, Business students show slightly higher powerlessness than Education.

Meaninglessness

Although differences are apparent between Business and Education students in terms of the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and total alienation and powerlessness. where the meaninglessness component of alienation is considered in terms of students predicting future outcomes of finding work based on their educational training, interesting faculty differences also appear.

Results of Table 5:7 show similar proportions of Education students (27.4%) and Business students (28.4%) score high on meaninglessness. Despite this, the pattern of relationship between expectancy of unemployment and meaninglessness is more dramatic in the case of Business students. Among Education students 9.1% (1 student) of those with expectations of low unemployment scored high meaninglessness, 23.8% of those with medium expectations of unemployment and 34.0% of those with high expectations of unemployment scored high on meaninglessness. Among Business students 13.6% (3 students) who expected low unemployment scored high on meaninglessness, 15.7% of those

TABLE 5:7

FACULTY, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY MEANINGLESSNESS

Expectancy of Unemployment	Student's Meaninglessness Scores: Education$_1$ Low	Education$_1$ High	Education$_1$ %	Business$_2$ Low	Business$_2$ High	Business$_2$ %
Low	90.9 (10)	9.1 (1)	10.4 (11)	86.4 (19)	13.6 (3)	20.2 (22)
Medium	76.2 (32)	23.8 (10)	39.6 (42)	84.3 (43)	15.7 (8)	46.8 (51)
High	66.0 (35)	34.0 (18)	50.0 (53)	44.4 (16)	55.6 (20)	33.0 (36)
			χ^2_2=19.45	df.=2		$p \leq *.001$
Total %	72.6 (77)	27.4 (29)	100 (106)	71.6 (78)	28.4 (31)	100 (109)

$p \leq .05$

TABLE 5:8

FACULTY, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY SOCIAL ISOLATION

Expectancy of Unemployment	Student's Social Isolation Scores: Education Low	Education High	Education %	Business Low	Business High	Business %
Low	81.8 (9)	18.2 (2)	10.4 (11)	95.5 (21)	4.5 (1)	20.2 (22)
Medium	95.2 (40)	4.5 (2)	39.6 (42)	84.3 (43)	15.7 (8)	46.8 (51)
High	94.3 (50)	5.7 (3)	50.0 (53)	80.6 (29)	19.4 (7)	33.0 (36)
Total %	93.4 (99)	6.6 (7)	100 (106)	85.3 (93)	14.7 (16)	100 (109)

$p \leq .05$

with medium expectations and 55.6% of those with expectation of high unemployment scored high on meaninglessness.

The rise in meaninglessness as expectation of unemployment rises is more gradual in the case of Education. In contrast, for Business there is only a small difference in the proportion scoring high on meaninglessness as expectations of unemployment moves from low to medium but a large increase of 40.9 percentage points in the proportion scoring high on meaninglessness as expectation of unemployment moves from medium to high. The test of statistical significance reflects this observation with the relationship between expectation of unemployment and meaninglessness reaching significance only for Business students.

While it had been expected that the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and meaninglessness would have been higher for students in Education, such is not the case. In both Education and Business a direct relationship is observed but again the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and meaninglessness is stronger for Business than for Education.

Social Isolation

As was observed earlier, the number of individuals scoring high on social isolation is small and the relationship between expectation of unemployment and social

isolation is not supported by the χ^2 test as significance was not reached at the .05 level for any of the variables used. Particularly because of the small numbers, no further analysis using this variable seems warranted.

Sex, Expectation of Unemployment and Measures of Alienation

Sex is another control variable useed to assess the impact of unemployment on the sample of university students used in this study. In all the studies reviewed the difference (although contradictory in some instances) between males and females experiencing the effects of unemployment has been noted. Where Tiggmann & Winefield's (1984, p. 38) research shows that girls in particular are more prone to the effects of "helplessness", i.e., powerlessness, caused by unemployment than boys, Dowling & O'Brien (1981) found that both males and females who further advanced their education desired to influence outcomes regarding work to a greater degree than those who did not. The implication is that high expectation of unemployment would cause greater powerlessness for both males and females in University professional programs.

Tables (5:9-5:11) show the various distributions of males and females who hold low, medium and high expectancies of unemployment and corresponding alienation levels. Of the total 215 cases the majority were female (n=123) compared to males (n=92).

Total Alienation

One possible explanation for the differences observed between Business and Education in the relationship of expectancy of unemployment and alienation, may be that the Faculty of Education enrols a higher proportion of female students than the Faculty of Business. In Education (N=3134), 2077 or 66.2% are females as compared to (N=1539) 690 or 45.0% females are registered in Business (University of Alberta, Summary of Statistics, 1986). This differential is reflected in the study sample. In Education (N=106), 80 or 75.4% are females as compared to (N=109), 40 or 36.0% in Business. If females are more alienated as some studies suggest, then the observed differences between Faculties may be a consequence of the lower proportions of females in Business. Contrary to expectations however, results do not support this view.

Looking at Table 5:9, differences in males and females in both expectation of unemployment and total alienation are apparent. The majority of females (51.2%) expect high unemployment while just over one-quarter of males do so. Conversly, higher proportions of males expect low unemployment, 20.7% of males as compared to 11.4% of females, or medium unemployment, 51.1% of males as compared to 37.4% of females.

Regarding Total alienation, a larger proportion of females, (23.6%) than males, (12.0%) score high on total

TABLE 5:9

SEX, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY TOTAL ALIENATION

Male And Female Total Alienation (TA) Scores.

Expectancy of Unemployment	Male Low TA	Male High TA	Male %	Female Low TA	Female High TA	Female %
Low	94.7 (18)	5.3 (1)	20.7 (19)	92.9 (13)	7.2 (1)	11.4 (14)
Medium	87.2 (41)	12.8 (6)	51.1 (47)	82.6 (38)	17.4 (8)	37.4 (46)
High	84.6 (22)	15.4 (4)	28.3 (26)	68.3 (43)	31.7 (20)	51.2 (63)
Totals (%)	88.0 (81)	12.0 (11)	100 (92)	76.4 (94)	23.6 (29)	100 (123)

$p \leq .05$

TABLE 5:10

SEX, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY POWERLESSNESS

Male And Female Student's Powerlessness (P) Scores.

Expectancy of Unemployment	Male Low P	Male High P	Male %	Female Low P	Female High P	Female %
Low	94.7 (18)	5.3 (1)	20.7 (19)	64.3 (9)	35.7 (5)	11.4 (14)
Medium	68.1 (32)	31.9 (15)	51.1 (47)	65.2 (30)	34.8 (16)	37.4 (46)
High	65.4 (17)	34.6 (9)	28.3 (26)	34.9 (22)	65.1 (41)	51.2 (63)
				$\chi^2 = 11.12$	df.=2	$p \leq .003$
Totals (%)	72.8 (67)	27.2 (25)	100 (92)	49.6 (61)	50.4 (62)	100 (123)

$p \leq .05$

alienation supporting the idea that females are more prone to alienation than males.

For both males and females the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and total alienation is direct although it is clearer in the case of females. Among males with a low expectancy of unemployment, 5.3% (N=1) score high on total alienation compared to 7.2% (N=1) for females. For those with medium expectancy of unemployment, 12.8% of males and 17.4% females score high on total alienation. In the case of males with high expectation of unemployment 15.4% score high on total alienation. For females with high expectation of unemployment, 31.7% score high on total alienation, double the proportion for males. Not only do females expect higher levels of unemployment but a larger proportion of those who do so score high on total alienation. Despite the stronger relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation among females neither it nor the the findings for males are significant at the .05 level. In the earlier analysis, Education students, the majority of whom are women, expected higher levels of unemployment but fewer scored high on total alienation than was the case in Business. What this suggests is that females may not experience total alienation from expecting high unemployment but rather their alienation levels are contingent on a specific type of alienation such as powerlessness.

Powerlessness

Turning now to the findings for powerlessness, larger proportions of both males and females score high on powerlessness than on total alienation. As Table 5:10 shows, 27.2% of males and 50.4% of females score high on powerlessness. In both cases alienation increases as expectation of unemployment increases with women showing higher levels of powerlessness at all levels of expectancy of unemployment.

In the case of low expectancy of unemployment, 5.3% (N=1) of males score high on powerlessness but 35.7% of females do so. Powerlessness rises to 31.9% for males with medium expectancy of unemployment but falls to 34.8% for females with medium expectancy of unemployment. It is in the high expectancy of unemployment category however where the most interesting differences occur. The proportion of males who score high on powerlessness rises to 34.6% in the high expectancy of unemployment category but for females 65.1% of those who expect high unemployment also score high on powerlessness. These findings are significant at the .0038 level for females but are not significant for males.

Looking at the findings another way one third of all females in the study both expect high unemployment and score high on powerlessness. Among males less than one-tenth of all males expect high unemployment and experience high powerlessness.

Meaninglessness

As in the case of powerlessness, Table 5:11 shows that females score higher on meaninglessness than men. The proportions scoring high on meaninglessness are, however, not as high for either males or females as the proportions scoring high on powerlessness. For males, 22.3% score high on meaninglessness while 27.2% score high on powerlessness. For females, 31.7% score high on meaninglessness while 50.4% score high on powerlessness.

The relationship between expectation of unemployment and meaninglessness differs for males and females. Among males 15.8% of those who expect low unemployment score high on meaninglessness, 14.9% of those who expect medium unemployment score high on meaninglessness and a much larger proportion, 42.3% who expect high unemployment score high on meaninglessness. For women 7.1% (N=1) of those with low expectation of unemployment score high on meaninglessness, 23.9% of those expecting medium unemployment score high on meaninglessness and 42.9% of those who expect high unemployment score high meaninglessness.

In both cases high expectation of unemployment is associated with higher levels of meaninglessness but the pattern of increase in meaninglessness as expectancy of unemployment rises is more even for females. The test of statistical significance reflects these observations with the relationship between expectation of unemployment and

TABLE 5:11

SEX, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY MEANINGLESSNESS

Male And Female Student's Meaninglessness (M) Scores.

Expectancy of Unemployment	Male[1] Low M	High M	%	Female[2] Low M	High M	%
Low	84.2 (16)	15.8 (3)	20.7 (19)	92.9 (13)	7.1 (1)	11.4 (14)
Medium	85.1 (40)	14.9 (7)	51.1 (47)	76.1 (35)	23.9 (11)	37.4 (46)
High	57.7 (15)	42.3 (11)	28.3 (26)	57.1 (36)	42.9 (27)	51.2 (63)
	$\chi^2_1 = 7.81$	df.=2	$p \leq .02$	$\chi^2_2 = 8.80$	df.=2	$p \leq .01$
Totals (%)	77.2 (71)	22.3 (21)	100 (92)	68.3 (84)	31.7 (39)	100 (123)

$p \leq .05$.

meaninglessness reaching significance for both males and females.

Conclusions

Females are more pessimistic about their chances on the labour market--they expect higher levels of unemployment after graduation than do their male peers. Also, in all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness, and meaninglessness, females show higher levels of alienation. The relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation is stronger for females than males but not statistically significant. Likewise, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and powerlessness is stronger for females, notably so and is the only statistically significant relationship. Finally, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and meaninglessness is also stronger for females but not as dramatically so as in the case for powerlessness.

It is worth noting in conclusion that females are the main element in all high alienation groups. 40 respondents scored high on total alienation, of these 29 or 72.5% are females. 87 respondents scored high on powerlessness, 62 or 71.3% of whom are female. 60 respondents scored high on meaninglessness, 39 or 65% of whom are female. In each case this is higher than one would expect since only 57.2% of the respondents were female. In the high expectancy of

unemployment high alienation categories, females are again the main component. In other words, of the total number of students expecting high unemployment and scoring high meaninglessness the overwhelming proportion, as in total alienation and powerlessness, are females. This means that in both Education and Business, females contribute substantially to the levels of alienation experienced from expecting unemployment. Even with smaller proportions of females in Business than males, it may explain why alienation levels are higher for Business than Education.

Age, Expectation Of Unemployment and Measures of Alienation

Studies show that unemployment affects different age groups in the population differently. Labour force survey (Statistics Canada, 1971, 1981, 1983, 1986, 1987, 1989) results for the Alberta region show that people with the highest rates of unemployment were those aged 15-24 years. In 1971 the annual unemployment rates for the 15-24 year age group was 14.4% as compared 6.7% for those 25 years and over. In 1981, unemployment rates dropped to 6.1% for the 15-24 age category while those aged 25 years and over, the rate had decreased to 3.0%. With the recession, unemployment rates rose dramatically for all people but moreso for young aged workers. In 1983, the rate for those aged 15-24 years peaked at 19.7% and remained high at 15.1% in 1986. In comparison, 1983 unemployment rates for those aged 25 years and over stood at 11.4% and although the

unemployment rates improved, 1986 levels remained high at 10.0%. By 1987, unemployment rates decreased to 12.5% for the young aged 15-24 years, however, these doubled the rates for individuals 25 years and over, with unemployment at 6.65%. Nationally, unemployment has remained high in 1989 with a 12.3% rate of unemployment for those aged 15-24 years while for those aged 25 years and over the rate of unemployment increased to 7.8% (Statistics Canada, 1989). In 1989, statistics for the Alberta region show that the young aged 15-24 years have an unemployment rate of 13.4% whereas their peers, aged 25 years and over, have a rate of unemployment of only 6.8% (The Labour Force, March, 1989).

Overall, statistics clearly show that older individuals, aged 25 years and over, experience lower unemployement than their younger peers aged 15-24 years. If a direct relationship exists between unemployment and alienation, then it is expected that younger aged students, i.e., below 24 years, with high expectations of unemployment will score high on alienation.

As indicated in Chapter III age was significantly related to powerlessness (see O'brien & Kabanoff, 1979); older individuals (over 21) decreased their desire for influence over the environment, skill utilization, and variety, and accepted any type of work in order to meet financial and familial responsibilities. Although Dean (1961) did not research the connection between unemployment

and age, his research on alienation and powerlessness shows that "there is a small but positive correlation between alienation, powerlessness and advancing age" (p. 753). In this, Dean's findings also parallel Bell's (1958) work. Furthermore, where age is a significant factor in Tiggmann & Winefield's (1984) research showing that the young (below the age of 21) experienced higher levels of powerlessness due to unemployment than those aged 21 years and over, Andrisani's & Nestel's (quoted in Seeman, 1975) longitudinal research shows that middle-aged males were more prone to high powerlessness if entry into the workforce was not achieved.

The total sample was divided into three age groups--58 students aged 19 and 20 years comprise the under 21 years category, 81 students aged 22-23 years, and 72 students aged 23 to 37 years comprise the 23 years and over category.

Total Alienation

Looking at Table 5:12, some interesting differences between age bands of students are shown. For students aged 22-23 years, 54.3% expect high unemployment. 31.0% of students under 21 years expect high unemployment while 36.1% of those aged 23 years and older, do so.

A larger proportion, of younger aged students, 17.2%, under 21 years, and 23.5% those aged 22-23 years score high on total alienation while only 13.9% of students aged 23

TABLE 5:12

AGE, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY TOTAL ALIENATION

	Student's Total Alienation Scores In Terms Of Age Range Categories.								
EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	UNDER 21			22 - 23			24 YEARS AND OLDER.		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	100.0 (8)	0.0 (0)	13.8 (8)	80.0 (8)	20.0 (2)	12.3 (10)	100.0 (14)	0.0 (0)	19.4 (14)
Medium	90.4 (29)	9.4 (3)	55.2 (32)	77.8 (21)	22.2 (6)	33.3 (27)	87.5 (28)	12.5 (4)	44.4 (32)
High	61.1 (11)	38.9 (7)	31.0 (18)	75.0 (33)	25.0 (11)	54.3 (44)	76.9 (20)	23.1 (6)	36.1 (26)
	χ^2 = 8.96 df.=2 $p \leq .01$								
Totals (%)	82.8 (48)	17.2 (10)	100 (58)	76.5 (62)	23.5 (19)	100 (81)	86.1 (62)	13.9 (10)	100 (72)

$p \leq .05$

N = 211 with 4 cases missing

years and older score high on total alienation.

For all three age groups the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and total alienation is direct although the relationship is clearer in the case of students aged under 21 years. Among students who expect high unemployment, 38.9% of students aged under 21 years, score high on total alienation. Of students aged 22-23 years who expect high unemployment, 25.0% score high on total alienation whereas 23.1% of students aged 23 years and older who expect high unemployment and score high on total alienation, do so.

For all age groups, as expectancies of unemployment increased from low to high, increases in levels of total alienation occured. While it had been expected that the relationship between expectation of unemployment and age would have been higher, particularly for students aged under 21 years, such is not the case. It is the students aged 22-23 years who expect high unemployment and score the highest on total alienation whereas older students, aged 23 years and older, score low on total alienation, contrary to previous research findings mentioned above. One possible explanation for Tiggmann & Winefield's (1984) findings indicating that students aged under 21 years experience higher levels of alienation from unemployment, is that their sample consisted of graduated "secondary" school-leavers as opposed to "post-secondary" students used

in this research. If O'Brien and Kabanoff's (1979) findings are valid that alienation increases as students advance their education, then it may explain why post-secondary students aged 22-23 years would experience higher levels of alienation than their peers aged under 21 years. Contrary to Dean's (1961), Bell's (1958) and Andrisani & Nestel's (1975) findings that alienation increases with advancing age, results show that alienation decreases with advancing age. Since a direct relationship exists between unemployment and alienation one possible explanation is that older aged people experience lower unemployment and therefore lower alienation than their younger aged peers. In fact, a current Labour Force Survey (Statistic Canada, 1989) shows that in Alberta, unemployment rates are higher for young people aged 15-24 years (12.3%) as compared to those aged 25 years and over (7.8%). Another explanation for Dean's, Bell's, and Andrissani's & Nestel's findings is that their samples were not specific to university graduates about to enter professional/managerial occupations in Alberta where the unemployment rate for 1989 is 8.1% as compared to the skilled/unskilled labor force rate of 10.1%. (Statistics Canada, April, 1989; The Labour Force, March, 1989).

Powerlessness

Turning now to the findings for powerlessness, larger proportions of students in all age categories score high on

powerlessness than on total alienation. As Table 5:13 shows, 48.3% of students under 21 years score high on powerlessness, 44.4% of those aged 22-23 years score high on powerlessness and 30.6% of students aged 23 years and older score high on powerlessness.

For all age groups, as expectancies of unemployment increased from low to high, increases in levels of powerlessness occured. What is most notable in the results is the increase in the proportion of students aged under 21 and those aged 22-23 years who score high on powerlessness. For students aged under 21 years, powerlessness increases from 25.0% for those with low expectations of unemployment to 77.8% for those with high expectations of unemployment--a rise of 52.8 percentage points. For students aged 22-23 years, increasing expectancies of unemployment also show increases in the proportion who score high on powerlessness, however, the spread here is from 30.0% in the low expectancy of unemployment category to 56.8% in the high expectancy of unemployment category--a spread of 26.8 percentage points.

The greatest proportion of students who expect high unemployment and score high on powerlessness are those aged under 21 years whereas the major proportion of students who expect high unemployment score low on powerlessness are those aged 24 years and older. Results not only support Tiggmann & Winefield's (1984) findings which show that unemployment causes powerlessness particularly for young

TABLE 5:13

AGE, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY POWERLESSNESS

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	Student's Powerlessness Scores In Terms Of Age Range Categories								
	UNDER 21			22 - 23			24 YEARS AND OLDER.		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	75.0 (6)	25.0 (2)	13.8 (8)	70.0 (7)	30.0 (3)	12.3 (10)	92.9 (13)	7.1 (1)	19.4 (14)
Medium	62.5 (20)	37.5 (12)	55.2 (32)	70.4 (19)	29.2 (8)	33.3 (27)	68.8 (22)	31.3 (10)	44.4 (32)
High	22.2 (4)	77.8 (14)	31.0 (18)	43.2 (19)	56.8 (25)	54.3 (44)	57.7 (15)	42.3 (11)	36.1 (26)
$\chi^2_1 = 9.47$ df.=2 $p \leq .008$									
Totals	51.7 (30)	48.3 (28)	100% (58)	55.6 (45)	44.4 (36)	100% (81)	69.4 (50)	30.6 (22)	100 (72)

$p \leq .05$

N= 211, 4 cases missing

aged students under 21 years, but also contradict Bell's (1958), Dean's (1961), and Andrisani & Nestel's (1975) research which shows that powerlessness increases with age.

Meaninglessness

As in the case of total alienation, results of Table 5:14 show that students aged 22-23 years score higher on meaninglessness than those aged under 21 years or students aged 23 years and older. The proportions scoring high on meaninglessness are, however, not as high for either age group as the proportions scoring high on powerlessness. For students aged under 21 years, 25.9% score high on meaninglessness while 48.3% score high on powerlessness. For students aged 22-23 years, 34.6% score high on meaninglessness while 44.4% score high on powerlessness. For students aged 24 years and older, 22.2% score high on meaninglessness while 30.6% score high on powerlessness.

In all cases, higher expectation of unemployment is associated with higher levels of meaninglessness. What is most notable here is the increases in the proportion of young aged student who score high on meaninglessness. For students aged under 21 years meaninglessness increases from 12.5% for those with low expectations of unemployment to 50.0% of those with high expectations of unemployment--a rise of 37.5 percentage points. For students aged 22-23 years, increasing expectancies of unemployment also show a corresponding rise in the proportion of students who score

TABLE 5:14

AGE, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY MEANINGLESSNESS

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	Student's Meaninglessness Scores In Terms Of Age Range Categories. UNDER 21 (1) Low	High	%	22 - 23 (2) Low	High	%	24 YEARS AND OLDER. (3) Low	High	%
Low	87.5 (7)	12.5 (1)	13.8 (8)	80.0 (8)	20.0 (2)	12.3 (10)	92.9 (13)	7.1 (1)	19.4 (14)
Medium	84.5 (27)	15.6 (5)	55.2 (32)	74.1 (20)	25.9 (7)	33.3 (27)	84.4 (27)	15.6 (5)	44.4 (32)
High	50.0 (9)	50.0 (9)	31.0 (18)	56.8 (25)	43.2 (19)	54.3 (44)	61.5 (16)	38.5 (10)	36.1 (26)
	$\chi^2_1 = 7.96$ df.=2	$p \leq .01$					$\chi^2_3 = 6.61$	df.=2	$p \leq .03$
Totals (%)	74.1 (43)	25.9 (15)	100 (58)	65.4 (53)	34.6 (28)	100 (81)	77.8 (56)	22.2 (16)	100 (72)

$p \leq .05$

N= 211, 4 cases missing

high on meaninglessness however the spread here is only from 34.6% to 43.2%--a 23.2% percentage point increase. For students aged 23 years and older meaninglessness increases from 7.1%, 1 student with low expectation of unemployment to 38.5% for those with high expectations of unemployment--an increase of 31.4 percentage points.

Overall, trends indicate that a greater proportion of younger aged students, under 21 years and those students aged 22-23 years, expect higher unemployment and score higher on meaninglessness than students aged 23 years and over. Inasmuch as students aged 23 years and over expect high unemployment and score lower on meaninglessness than their younger peers aged under 21 or 22-23 years, as in the case of powerlessness, results indicate that meaninglessness decreases with age.

Conclusions

As expected, younger aged students, under 21 and 22-23 years, are more pessimistic about their chances on the labour market--they expect higher levels of unemployment after graduation than do their peers aged 23 years and older.

For all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness; younger students aged under 21 and those aged 22-23 years score high on alienation while the oldest students, aged 23 years and over, score the lowest on alienation.

The relationship between expectancy of unemployment and total alienation is stronger for young students under 21 years of age than those aged 22-23 years or students aged 23 years and over. Likewise the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and powerlessness is stronger for students under 21 years of age and notably so. Finally the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and meaninglessness is strong for students under 21 years of age but also for those aged 23 years and over.

Since results show that older students, aged 23 years and over, score low on all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness; this contradicts Dean's (1961), O'Brien & Kabanoff's (1979) and Bell's (1958) previous research findings which show that alienation increases with advancing age. On the other hand, results support Tiggman & Winefield's (1984) study which demonstrates that individuals aged under 21 years experience higher levels of powerlessness if entry into the workforce is not achieved or in this case there is doubt about entry into the workforce. While Andrissani's and Nestel's work shows the most intense form of alienation experienced by unemployed middle aged workers is powerlessness, contrary to this, results in this study show that for middle aged students, in the 24-37 year age category, the most intense form of alienation experienced is meaninglessness.

Mother's Occupation, Expectation Of Unemployment and Measures of Alienation

Social status based on occupation is another factor which may account for differences in the levels of alienation experienced from unemployment. Studies by Misruchi (1964) Scanzoni (1968) Dean (1961), Meier & Bell (1958) all show that occupational status tended to interract with levels of alienation or components of it. Specifically, these studies found that "working-class" individuals experienced greater levels of "anomia" than "middle-class" persons if mobility was restricted. If Meier & Bell's (1958) statement is valid that "class identification...may also be an indicator of a belief system which limits access to opportunity for the achievement of life-goals for certain segments of the population, i.e., access to prized goals of society--monetary success, prestige, power, or merely regular employment" (p. 195), this has implications for students whose parents social status (based on occupation and/or education) define their belief system for achievement of life-goals. Finally, Dean's (1961) study concerning social status not only shows a negative correlation between occupation and alienation and powerlessness but also a negative relationship between education, alienation, powerlessness and social isolation.

In both mother's and fathers occupation small cell

frequencies occured thus jeapordizing the significance of the results. It would not make sense to increase cell numbers by collapsing categories of mother's occupation i.e., combining professional with the housewife category or un/skilled with the housewife category since in many cases students in this category would have mothers who were professional or un/skilled. Nor would it be reasonable to collapse father's occupational categories, i.e., skilled with unskilled or skilled with professional, as these groups of students are clearly distinct from one another. However, in all cases a direct relationship between expectancy of unemployment and alienation is shown and differences between the various categories of mother's and father's occupation are evident. In other words, that the professional groups behaved very distinctly from both the skilled or unskilled category students is clear in terms of the effect of expecting unemployment. Because clear differences are shown, results will be discussed in view of lending to the overall discussion concerning the direct relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation.

The students were divided into groups according to their mother's occupation. 53 students had mothers working as "un/skilled" labour, 81 students had "professional" mothers, and 72 students had mothers working as a "housewife".

Total Alienation

Looking at Table 5:15, differences between unskilled, housewife and professional categories in both expectation of unemployment and total alienation are apparent. A large proportion of housewife mother's children, 48.6%, expect high unemployment and 34.0% of unskilled mother's children expect high unemployment while 39.5% of professional mother's children, do so. On the other hand, 23.5% of professional mother's children expect low unemployment, more than 3 times that of unskilled mother's children, 7.5%, and more than double the proportion of housewife mother's children, 9.7%, do so.

In terms of alienation, a larger proportion, of unskilled mother's children, 30.2%, and housewife mother's children, 19.4%, score high on total alienation while only 11.1% of professional mother's children score high on total alienation.

For all occupational categories the relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation is direct although it is clearer in the case of students of unskilled and housewife mothers. Results show that 50.0% of unskilled mother's children and 28.6% of housewife mother's children, expect high unemployment and score high on total alienation while only 12.5% of professional mother's children do so.

TABLE 5:15

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY TOTAL ALIENATION

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	Student's Total Alienation Scores In Terms Of Mother's Occupation								
	UNSKILLED[1]			SEMI/PROF[2]			HOUSEWIFE[3]		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	75.0 (3)	25.0 (1)	7.5 (4)	94.7 (18)	5.3 (1)	23.5 (19)	100.0 (7)	0.7 (0)	9.7 (7)
Medium	80.6 (25)	19.4 (6)	58.5 (31)	86.7 (26)	13.3 (4)	37.0 (30)	86.7 (26)	13.3 (4)	41.7 (30)
High	50.0 (9)	50.0 (9)	34.0 (18)	87.5 (28)	12.5 (4)	39.5 (32)	71.4 (25)	28.6 (10)	48.6 (35)
Totals (%)	69.8 (37)	30.2 (16)	100 (53)	88.9 (72)	11.1 (9)	100 (81)	80.6 (58)	19.4 (14)	100 (72)

$p \leq .05$

N = 206, 9 cases missing

Powerlessness

Turning now to the findings for powerlessness, Table 5:16 shows that as in the case of total alienation, larger proportions of all mother's occupational categories score high on powerlessness. 45.3% of unskilled mother's children and 43.1% of housewife mother's children score high on powerlessness while 33.3% of professional mother's children, do so.

For all occupational categories the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and powerlessness is direct although it is clearer for unskilled mother's children. As results show, 25.0% of unskilled mother's children expect low unemployment and score high on powerlessness rising to 77.8% for those who expect high unemployment and score high on powerlessness--a rise of 52.8 percentage points. 0.0% of housewife mother's children expect low unemployment and score high on powerlessness rising to 54.3% of those who expect high unemployment and score high on powerlessness--an increase of 54.3 percentage points. 21.1% of professional mother's children expect low unemployment and score high on powerlessness rising to 40.6% for those who expect high unemployment and score high on powerlessness--only a 19.5 percentage point increase.

Overall, as in total alienation, the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and powerlessness is

TABLE 5:16

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY POWERLESSNESS

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	Student's Powerlessness Scores In Terms Of Mother's Occupation								
	UNSKILLED[1]			SEMI/PROF[2]			HOUSEWIFE[3]		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	75.0 (3)	25.0 (1)	7.5 (4)	78.9 (15)	21.1 (4)	23.5 (19)	100.0 (7)	0.0 (0)	9.7 (7)
Medium	71.0 (22)	29.0 (9)	58.5 (31)	66.7 (20)	33.3 (10)	37.0 (30)	60.0 (18)	40.0 (12)	41.7 (30)
High	22.2 (4)	77.8 (14)	34.0 (18)	59.4 (19)	40.6 (13)	39.5 (32)	45.7 (16)	54.3 (19)	48.6 (35)
	χ^2_1=11.63	df.=2	p≤*.003				χ^2_3=7.20	df.=2	p≤*.02
Totals (%)	54.7 (29)	45.3 (24)	100 (53)	66.7 (54)	33.3 (27)	100 (81)	56.9 (41)	43.1 (31)	100 (72)

p≤.05.

N = 206, 9 cases missing

stronger for unskilled and housewife mother's children, however, the greater proportion of professional mother's children expect low unemployment and score low on powerlessness.

Meaninglessness

As in the case of powerlessness, Table 5:17 shows that unskilled and housewife mother's children score higher on meaninglessness than students whose mothers are professional. The proportions scoring high on meaninglessness are not as great as the the proportions scoring high on powerlessness. While 39.6% of unskilled mother's children score high on meaninglessness, 45.3% score high on powerlessness. 31.9% of housewife mother's children score high on meaninglessness while 43.1% score high on powerlessness. The greatest difference is seen for professional mother's children where 18.5% score high on meaninglessness while 33.3% score high on powerlessness.

The relationship between expectancy of unemployment and meaninglessness differs for each occupational category. The greatest differences appear in the high expectancy of unemployment/high meaninglessness category. 66.7% of unskilled mother's children and 49.7% of housewife mother's children expect high unemployment and score high on meaninglessness while only 28.1% of professional mother's children, do so.

In all three cases high expectation of unemployment is

TABLE 5:17

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY MEANINGLESSNESS

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	Student's Meaninglessness Scores In Terms Of Mother's Occupation								
	UNSKILLED[1]			SEMI/PROF[2]			HOUSEWIFE[3]		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	50.0 (2)	50.0 (2)	7.5 (4)	94.7 (18)	5.3 (1)	23.5 (19)	85.7 (6)	14.3 (1)	9.7 (7)
Medium	77.4 (24)	22.6 (7)	58.5 (31)	83.7 (25)	16.7 (5)	37.0 (30)	80.0 (24)	20.0 (6)	21.7 (30)
High	33.6 (6)	66.7 (12)	34.0 (18)	71.9 (23)	28.1 (9)	39.5 (32)	54.3 (19)	49.7 (16)	48.6 (35)
	$\chi^2_1 = 9.44$ df.=2 $p \leq .008$						$\chi^2_3 = 6.02$ df.=2 $p \leq .04$		
Totals (%)	60.4 (32)	39.6 (21)	100 (53)	81.5 (66)	18.5 (15)	100 (81)	68.1 (49)	31.9 (23)	100 (72)

$p \leq .05$.

N = 206 with 9 cases missing

associated with higher levels of meaninglessness but increases in meaninglessness is more dramatic for unskilled and housewife mother's children than for professional mother's children.

Conclusions

Unskilled and housewife mother's children are more pessimistic about their chances on the labour market--they expect higher levels of unemployment after graduation than do students whose mothers work as professionals. In all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness, housewife and unskilled mother's children score higher on alienation than professional mother's children.

The relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation is stronger for unskilled and housewife mother's children than for professional mother's children. Likewise the relationship between expectation of unemployment and powerlessness is stronger for the housewife and unskilled mother's category. Finally, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and meaninglessness is also stronger for students of unskilled and housewife mother's children but not as strong as in the case of powerlessness.

Overall, professional mother's children not only expect low unemployment but are also the main element in all the low alienation groups.

Father's Occupation, Expectation of Unemployment and Measures of Alienation

The total sample of 215 students were grouped into three father's occupational categories--74 in "unskilled", 68 in "skilled", and 69 in "professional.

Total Alienation

Looking at Table 5:18, differences between the three occupational groups are apparent. The majority of unskilled father's children, 45.9%, expect high unemployment and 38.5% of skilled expect high unemployment while 39.1% of professional father's children, do so. In contrast, higher proportions of professional fathers children, 23.2%, expect low unemployment, while 13.2% of skilled father's children expect low unemployment or 9.5% of unskilled father's children, do so.

A larger proportion, 23.5%, of unskilled father's children and 23.0% of skilled father's children, scored high on total alienation while less than one-half as many or 10.1% of professional father's children, do so.

In all cases, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation is direct although it is stronger for students whose fathers work as skilled and unskilled labour. Among unskilled father's children, 0.0% expect low unemployment and score high on total alienation rising to 29.4% of those who expect high unemployment and

TABLE 5:18

FATHER'S OCCUPATION, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY TOTAL ALIENATION

	Student's Total Alienation Scores In Terms Of Father's Occupation								
EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	UNSKILLED/SEMI[1]			SKILLED[2]			PROFESSIONAL[3]		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	100.0 (7)	0.0 (0)	9.5 (7)	100.0 (9)	0.0 (0)	13.2 (9)	87.5 (14)	12.5 (2)	23.2 (16)
Medium	78.8 (26)	21.2 (7)	44.6 (33)	81.8 (27)	18.2 (6)	48.5 (33)	96.2 (25)	3.8 (1)	37.7 (26)
High	70.6 (24)	29.4 (10)	45.9 (34)	61.5 (16)	38.5 (10)	38.2 (26)	85.2 (23)	14.8 (4)	39.1 (27)
				$\chi^2_2 = 6.51$	df. = 2	$p \leq .03$			
Totals (%)	77.0 (17)	23.0 (57)	100 (74)	76.5 (52)	23.5 (16)	100 (68)	89.9 (62)	10.1 (7)	100 (69)

$p \leq .05$

N = 211 (4 cases missing)

score high on total alienation--a 29.4 percentage point increase. Of skilled father's children, 0.0% expect low unemployment and score high on total alienation rising to 18.2% of those those who expect high unemployment and score high on total alienation--a 18.2 percentage point increase. Of professional father's children, 12.5% expect low unemployment and score high on total alienation rising to 14.8% of those who expect high unemployment and score high on total alienation--only a 2.3 percentage point increase. Not only do professional father's children expect lower levels of unemployment but a larger proportion of those who do so, score low on total alienation. Although the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and total alienation is clearer in the case of unskilled and skilled father's categories, the relationship is significant at .05 level only for unskilled father's children.

Powerlessness

As in the case of total alienation, Table 5:19 results show that all three occupational groups score high on powerlessness. However, unskilled and skilled father's children score higher on powerlessness than students whose fathers work as professionals. While 43.2% of unskilled, and 42.6% of skilled father's children score high on powerlessness, 34.8% of professional father's children, do so.

In all three cases the relationship between

TABLE 5:19

FATHER'S OCCUPATION, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY POWERLESSNESS

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	Student's Powerlessness Scores In Terms Of Father's Occupation								
	UNSKILLED/SEMI$_1$			SKILLED$_2$			PROFESSIONAL$_3$		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	100.0 (7)	0.0 (0)	9.5 (7)	77.8 (7)	22.2 (2)	13.2 (9)	75.0 (12)	25.0 (4)	23.2 (16)
Medium	57.6 (19)	42.4 (14)	44.6 (33)	69.7 (23)	30.3 (10)	48.5 (33)	73.1 (19)	26.9 (7)	37.7 (26)
High	47.1 (16)	52.9 (18)	45.9 (34)	34.6 (9)	65.4 (17)	38.2 (26)	51.9 (14)	48.1 (13)	39.1 (27)
	χ^2_1= 6.64 df.=2 p-.03			χ^2_2 = 9.08 df.=2 p≤.01					
Totals (%)	56.8 (42)	43.2 (32)	100 (74)	57.4 (39)	42.6 (29)	100 (68)	65.2 (45)	34.8 (24)	100 (69)

p≤.05

N= 211, 4 cases missing

expectatation of unemployment and powerlessness is direct although it is clearer in the case of students whose fathers work as unskilled or skilled labour.

In the high expectancy of unemployment category the greatest differences between groups emerge. The proportion of unskilled father's children who score high on powerlessness increases from 0.0% in the low expectation of unemployment category to 52.9% in the high expectancy of unemployment category--a 52.9 percentage point increase. The proportion of skilled father's children who score high on powerlessness increases from 22.2% in the low expectation of unemployment category to 65.4% of those in the high expectation of unemployment category--a rise of 43.2 percentage points. The proportion of professional father's children who score high on powerlessness increases from 26.9% in the low expectation of unemployment category to 48.1% of those who expect high unemployment and score high on powerlessness--a rise of only 21.2 percentage points.

Overall, results show that the largest proportion of students with high expectations of unemployment and scoring high on powerlessness were those whose fathers work in unskilled and skilled occupations. As in the case of total alienation, professional father's children score lower on powerlessness than skilled or unskilled father's children.

Meaninglessness

As in the case of powerlessness, unskilled and skilled father's children score higher on meaninglessness than professional father's children. The proportion scoring high on meaninglessness are however, not as high for either father's occupational group as the proportions scoring high on powerlessness. For students of unskilled and skilled fathers, 33.8% and 36.8% score high on meaninglessness respectively, while 43.2% and 42.6% score high on powerlessness. For students with professional fathers, 13.0% score high on meaninglessness while 34.8% score high on powerlessness.

In all cases the relationship between expectancy of unemployment is direct although the relationship is clearer for skilled father's children. Among students of skilled fathers, 11.1% of those who expect low unemployment score high on meaninglessness rising to 61.5% for those who expect high unemployment and score high on meaninglessness--an increase of 50.4 percentage points between low and high categories. Among unskilled father's children who expect low unemployment, 14.3% score high on meaninglessness rising to 44.1% for those who expect high unemployment score high on meaninglessness--a 39.8 percentage point increase. For students of professional fathers who expect low unemployment, 12.5% score high on meaninglessness increasing to 22.2% for those who expect high unemployment and score high on meaninglessness--only a

TABLE 5:20

FATHER'S OCCUPATION, EXPECTATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY MEANINGLESSNESS

EXPECTANCY OF UNEMPLOYMENT	Student's Meaninglessness Scores In Terms Of Father's Occupation								
	UNSKILLED/SEMI[1]			SKILLED[2]			PROFESSIONAL[3]		
	Low	High	%	Low	High	%	Low	High	%
Low	85.7 (6)	14.3 (1)	9.5 (7)	88.9 (8)	11.1 (1)	13.2 (9)	87.5 (14)	12.5 (2)	23.2 (16)
Medium	72.7 (24)	27.3 (9)	44.6 (33)	75.8 (25)	24.2 (8)	48.5 (33)	96.2 (25)	3.8 (1)	37.7 (26)
High	55.9 (19)	44.1 (15)	45.9 (34)	38.5 (10)	61.5 (16)	38.2 (26)	77.8 (21)	22.2 (6)	39.1 (27)
	$\chi^2_2 = 11.63$ df.=2 $p \leq .003$								
Totals (%)	66.2 (49)	33.8 (25)	100 (74)	63.2 (43)	36.8 (25)	100 (68)	87.0 (60)	13.0 (9)	100 (69)

$p \leq .05$

N = 211 4 cases missing

9.7 percentage point increase between low and high categories.

In all cases, high expectation of unemployment is associated with higher levels of meaninglessness but the increase in meaninglessness as expectancy rises is stronger for students whose fathers worked in unskilled and skilled occupations. Likewise, skilled and unskilled father's children expect high unemployment and score high on meaninglessness while professional father's children expect low unemployment and score low on meaninglessness.

Conclusions

Professional father's children are more optimistic about their chances on the labour market--they expect lower levels of unemployment after graduation than do unskilled and skilled father's children. Also, in all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness; students of professional fathers show lower levels of alienation.

The relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation is stronger for unskilled and skilled father's children than for students with fathers in professional occupations. Likewise, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and powerlessness is stronger for unskilled and skilled category students, notably so, than for students of professional fathers. In

both cases a statistically significant relationship is reached at the .05 level or better. Finally, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and meaninglessness is also stronger for unskilled and skilled father's children but not as great as in the case of powerlessness. Overall, unskilled and skilled father's children are the main element in all the high expectation of unemployment and high alienation groups.

Now that the results have been summarized, Chapter VI presents an interpretation of the major findings of the study and conjecture as to why certain relationships were revealed. The implications which the study holds for theory and practice are discussed as well as directions for further research.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

This chapter presents an interpretation of the major findings of the study and conjecture as to why certain relationships were revealed. The major findings of the study are also discussed in relation to other studies. The implications which the study holds for theory and practice are discussed as well as implications for further research. Thus, five units comprise this chapter:

1. Summary of Results
2. Reasons for negative results
3. Theoretical Implications of Results
4. Practical Implications of Results
5. Further Research

Summary Of Results

Using the Marxian theory of reification the purpose of this study was to determine if expectation of unemployment leads to alienation and its components of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation.

Overall, results confirmed the hypothesis that anticipation of unemployment leads to alienation. Results support a direct relationship between expectancy of unemployment and total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness but not social isolation. In all alienation measures; total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness; significance was reached at the .05 level or better.

Results also show that the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and alienation is direct when controls for faculty, sex, age, mother's and father's occupation, are introduced.

The relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation controlling for faculty is direct for both Education and Business however the relationship is much stronger for Business. Although the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and powerlessness reaches significance at the .05 level for both faculties, for the Education Faculty the relationship is more clearly marked. A direct relationship is also shown in the relationship between expectation of unemployment and meaninglessness for both faculties although for Business the relationship is stronger.

The relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation is direct and not changed controlling for sex. Results show that the relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation is stronger for females but not statistically significant. Likewise, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and powerlessness is stronger for females, notably so and is the only statistically significant relationship. Finally, the relationship between expectation of unemployment and meaninglessness is also stronger for females but not as dramatically so as in the case of powerlessness.

As mentioned in Chapter V, upon completing data analysis with controls, the problem of small frequencies was encountered especially for age and to a lesser degree mother's and father's occupation. Since statistical analysis required 18 cells, empty cells resulted and in a number of other cells where only 1-3 individuals were found. With this type of problem it is unlikely that statistically significant results could be attained. However, because clear differences are shown, results were discussed in view of lending to the overall discussion rather than focusing on statistical significance.

In all cases, the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and alienation is direct and not changed controlling for age. Results show each age group expressed greater total alienation as expectancy of unemployment increased however the relationship was stronger for students aged under 21 years. Likewise, results show that students aged under 21 years experience the highest levels of powerlessness while older students, aged 24 years and over, scored lower on powerlessness than their peers aged under 21 or 22-23 years. Finally, the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and meaninglessness is stronger for students aged 24 years and over.

The relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation is direct and not changed controlling for mother's and father's occupation. For students of

unskilled or housewife mothers, high expectation of unemployment is associated with high alienation. On the other hand, greater proportions of students with professional mothers expect low unemployment and score low on all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness. As in the case of mother's occupation, greater proportions of students with professional fathers have expect low unemployment and score low on all measures of alienation while their unskilled or skilled peers have high expectations of unemployment and score high on all measures of alienation.

Reasons for Negative Results

This section focuses on results obtained in this study which contradict expectations regarding the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation. First, contrary to expectations, results show that students from the Faculty of Business are more alienated than students from the Faculty of Education. This is somewhat surprizing since employment opportunities for Business students have been better in recent years than for Education students.

Second, although significance was reached at the .05 level for relationship between expectation of unemployment and total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness, contrary to expectations, significance was not reached for the relationship between expected unemployment and social

isolation. It could be assumed that the hypothesis based on the Marxian theory of reification is incorrect or that the social isolation scale used in this research does not validly measure this form of alienation experienced from unemployment. In this case, discussion will focus on the latter assumption.

Faculty Differences

As mentioned in Chapter V, Faculty is used in this study on the assumption that student's expectations of securing work is based upon the faculty in which they are currently registered and also that these are professional faculties that lead to particular kinds of jobs, i.e., Business graduates find managerial / administrative work, Education graduates find work in teaching professions. In a previous study, Dowling and O'Brien (1981) implies that unemployment would cause greater powerlessness especially for students advancing their education. Since unemployment levels for education graduates have been higher in recent years that they have been for business graduates, their levels of alienation should reflect that fact.

In all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness; Education and Business students were very similar in terms of their alienation scores although contrary to expectation, Education students show slightly less alienation. While it had been expected that the relationship between expectancy of unemployment

and the Education faculty would have been higher based on unemployment trends, such is not the case. Although the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and alienation is direct in both faculties, for Business the relationship is more marked with Business students expressing higher alientions levels than Education students. One possible explanation why Business students are more alienated than Education students may be, as some studies have shown, that gender influences the level of alienation experienced from expecting high unemployment.

In all the studies reviewed the differences (although contradictory in some instances) between males and females experiencing the effects of unemployment has been noted. As previously mentioned, Tiggmann & Winefield (1984) found that girls in particular are more prone to the effects of powerlessness than boys. However, Dowling & O'Brien (1981) found that both females and males who further advanced their education desired more control over outcomes regarding work. The implication is that high expectation of unemployment would lead to greater powerlessness for both females and males in University professional programs.

As mentioned in Chapter V, that differences observed between Business and Education in the the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation was that the Faculty of Education enrols a greater proportion of female students than the Faculty of Business. Contrary to

expectations, however, results do not support this view.

In all cases, results show that females are more pessimistic about their chances on the labour market--they expect higher levels of unemployment after graduation than do their male peers. Although females are the main element in all high alienation groups, this is particularly true in the high expectancy of unemployment high alienation categories. The proportion of females scoring high on alienation is represented by the following ratios:

20:24 or 83.3% = total alienation

41:50 or 82.0% = powerlessness

27:38 or 71.0% = meaninglessness

To illustrate, the ratio for total alienation (20:24) shows that the total number of females and males expecting high unemployment and scoring high on total alienation is 24. Dividing 24 by the number of females (20) in the high expectancy of unemployment/high total alienation category, shows that 83.3% of the total with high expectations of unemployment and scoring high on alienation, are females. As in the case of total alienation, the ratio for powerlessness (41:50) and meaninglessness (27:38) shows that females are the main element in all the high alienation groups. In other words, of the total number of students expecting high unemployment and scoring high on total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness the overwhelming proportion, are females. This means that in

both Education and Business females contribute substantially to the levels of alienation experienced from expecting unemployment.

A more practical explanation why Business students are more alienated than Education students may be, as some studies have shown, that age influences the level of alienation experienced from expecting high unemployment. Thus differences observed between Business and Education in the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and alienation, may be that the Faculty of Business enrols a higher proportion of younger students aged, 23 years and under, than the Faculty of Education. In Business (N = 1617) 1353 or 83.6% of students are aged under 23 years as compared to Education (N = 3164) 1475 or 46.6% of students aged under 23 years (University of Alberta, Summary of Statistics, 1987). This differential is reflected in the study sample. In Business (N = 109), 96 or 88.0% of students are aged under 23 years as compared to (N = 106) 63 or 59.4% of students aged under 23 years, in Education.

In all studies reviewed the differences (although contradictory in some instances) between different age groups experincing the effects of unemployment has been noted. As previously mentioned, Tiggmann & Winefield (1984) found that the young, under 21 years, experienced higher levels of powerlessness due to unemployment than those aged 21 years and over. However, a number of

researchers, (Andrissani & Nestel, 1975; Bell 1958; Dean 1961; O'brien & Kabanoff, 1979) found that powerlessness increases with advancing age. The implication is that expectation of unemployment would lead to greater powerlessness for older individuals 21 years and over. Contrary to expectations, however, results do not support this view.

In all cases, results show that younger aged students, under 23 years of age, are more pessimistic about their chances on the labour market--they expect higher levels of unemployment after graduation than do their peers aged 23 years and over. Although younger aged students, under 23 years of age, are the main element in all high alienation groups, this is particularly true in the high expectancy of unemployment/high alienation categories. The proportion of young aged students scoring high on alienation is represented by the following ratios:

18:24 or 75.0% = total alienation

39:50 or 78.0% = powerlessness

28:38 or 73.6% = meaninglessness

To illustrate, the ratio for total alienation (18:24) shows that the total number of students expecting high unemployment and scoring high on total alienation is 24. Dividing 24 by the number of students (18) aged under 23 years in the high expectancy of unemployment/high total

alienation category, shows that 75.0% of the total sample with high expectation of unemployment and scoring high on alienation, are young aged students under 23 years. As in the case of total alienation, the ratio for powerlessness (39:50) and meaninglessness (28:38) again shows that young aged students are the main element in all the high alienation groups. In other words, of the total number of students expecting high unemployment and scoring high on total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness, the overwhelming proportion are young aged students, under 23 years. This means that in both Business and Education young aged students contribute substantially to the levels of alienation experienced from expecting unemployment. With the overwhelming proportion of young students aged under 23 years, it may explain why alienation levels are higher for Business than for Education.

The Social Isolation Scale

Another area where unexpected results occurred regards the hypothesis that a direct relationship exists between expectation of unemployment and social isolation. As was observed earlier, the number of individuals scoring high on social isolation is small and the relationship between expectation of unemployment and social isolation is not statistically supported as significance was not reached at the .05 level for any of the variables used. Four possible reasons are posited for lack of this relationship:

1. A relationship between expectation of unemployment and social isolation does not empirically exist.

2. The Social Isolation scale used failed to validly measure the type of isolation experienced from unemployment. Rather, Nettler's scale may be a more situation-specific measure related to social mobility; isolating oneself for a period of time to achieve aspirations and goals to gain access to certain restricted occupations.

3. Expectation of unemployment and social isolation may not be related because the scale is not sensitive to the "isolation from others" students would experience from not working in their chosen fields. In fact, none of the items on the isolation scale address work values, beliefs, or attitudes towards work or working.

4. Social isolation may not be experienced by students because of the frequent opportunity for socialization with peers on and off campus. For instance, associating with professionals in the field may not be as important as being isolated from their peers. If this is true, isolation levels would be low in terms of being isolated from peers as opposed to isolation from professionals in the field.

Theoretical Implications of the Results

The theoretical implications of the results includes: (a) how the obtained results coincide with other researchers findings, and (b) how well the findings coincides with theory guiding the research.

Obtained Results Compared to Previous Findings

This section focuses on results obtained in this study where controls; faculty, sex, age, mother's/father's occupation; were introduced into the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation.

Faculty, Expectation of Unemployment by Measures of Alienation

In this study, it was proposed that a direct relationship exists between expectation of unemployment and powerlessness. In previous research, Dowling & O'Brien (1981) found that the relationship between unemployment and powerlessness is direct and is particularly strong for individuals who further advanced their education i.e., they desired more control over outcomes regarding work. The implication is that both females and males who advance their education would experience high powerlessness if entry into the workforce was denied by unemployment. In this study, results support the hypothesis that high expectation of unemployment leads to powerlessness for students in University professional programs where significance was reached beyond the .05 level. For both females and males the main form of alienation experienced from expecting unemployment is powerlesssness.

Sex, Expectation of Unemployment by Measures of Alienation

In terms of gender, results show a direct relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation however

differences were apparent in terms of the level of alienation experienced by females and males. Results in this study support Tiggmann & Winefield's (1984) research which found that unemployment caused greater powerlessness for girls than boys. In all cases, results show that females expect higher levels of unemployment after graduation than their male peers. Likewise, results demonstrate that females score higher on all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness. Although both males and females score high on powerlessness from expecting high unemployment most notable is the finding that females experience twice the levels of powerlessness than males. Thus, results in this study support Tiggmann & Winefield's findings that females are particularly prone to powerlessness if entry into the workforce is denied.

Age, Expectation of Unemployment by Measures of Alienation

Studies show that unemployment affects different age groups in the population differently. Statistics clearly show that older individuals, aged 25 years and over, experience lower unemployment than their younger peers aged 15-24 years. Thus it was expected that younger aged students, below 24 years, with high expectations of unemployment would score high on alienation.

As indicated in Chapter III age is significantly related to powerlessness (O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1979); older

individuals (over 21) decreased their desire for influence over the environment, skill utilization, and variety, and accepted any type of work in order to meet financial and familial responsibilities. Although Dean (1961) did not research the connection between unemployment and age, his research on alienation and powerlessness shows that "there is a small but positive correlation between alienation, powerlessness and advancing age" (p. 753). In this, Dean's findings also parallel Bell's (1958) work. Furthermore, where age is a significant factor in Tiggmann & Winefield's (1984) research showing that the young (below the age of 21) experienced higher levels of powerlessness due to unemployment than those aged 21 years and over, Andrisani's & Nestel's (quoted in Seeman, 1975) longitudinal research shows that middle-aged males were more prone to high powerlessness if entry into the workforce was not achieved.

Results in this study shows that younger aged students, 15-23 years, are more pessimistic about their chances on the labour market--they expect higher levels of unemployment after graduation than do their peers aged 23 years and over.

While the largest proportions of young aged students, 15-23 years, expect high unemployment and score high on all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness; in all cases, the oldest students, aged 23 years and over, score low on alienation. Among students aged 15-23 years, the greatest proportion

scoring high on powerlessness are those students in the under 21 years category.

Since results also show that older students, aged 23 years and over, score the lower on all measures of alienation, this contradicts Dean's (1961) and O'Brien & Kabanoff's (1979) and Bell's (1958) previous research which indicates that alienation increases with advancing age. On the other hand, results support Tiggmann & Winefield's (1984) study which demonstrates that individuals, under 21 years of age, would experience higher levels of powerlessness if entry into the workforce was not achieved or in this case there is doubt about entry into the workforce. Where Andrissani's and Nestel's (1975) work shows the most intense form of alienation experienced by unemployed middle aged workers was powerlessness, contrary to this, results in this study show that for middle-aged students, in the 23-37 year age category, the most intense form of alienation experienced was meaninglessness.

Social Status, Expectation of Unemployment by Measures of Alienation

Although the relationship between expected unemployment and alienation is direct and not changed controlling for mother's/father's occupation, results show that social status influences the level of alienation experienced. Overall, findings indicate that professional mother's and father's children are more optimistic of their chances on the labour market--they expect lower levels of

unemployment after graduation than do their peers with parents working in skilled or unskilled occupations.

The largest proportions of students expecting high unemployment and scoring high on alienation; total alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness; were those whose parents work in unskilled and skilled occupations.

Results in this study tend to support the findings of Misruchi (1964) and Scanzoni (1966) that middle-class individuals i.e., professional parents children, have a wider array of chances in the opportunity structure finding employment due to network ties, parental support, comprehension of market needs, and therefore less alienation is experienced by them. Because working-class individuals i.e., unskilled or skilled parents children, do not have the same opportunities available to them as do their middle-class peers, they experience higher levels of alienation. In all measures of alienation results show that unskilled and skilled parents children expect higher unemployment and score higher on alienation than do professional parents children.

Obtained Findings in Relation to the Theory of Reification

The notion that unemployment may lead to alienation is based on the Marxian theory of reification. Israel (1971) claims that social structural conditions i.e., the market tendency to transform man into a commodity, a consumer; and the nature of bureaucracy, lead to alienation,

specifically, alienation from product. On the societal level, these social conditions, which represent the social structure of society, together with the process of alienation, prevent human nature from acting according to its needs and capacities, certain psychological "states of alienation" are created. According to Israel, these states, corresponding to Marx's ideas on "alienation from product", could be "concretized" by existing reliable instruments that measure the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced.

Based on Israel's perspective, if unemployment, like other "objective" conditions described by Marx, is viewed in terms of man's alienation from product, then it is possible that unemployment could influence the degree of powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation experienced.

Specifically, if students are "packaging" themselves as commodities they are doing so to meet the demands of industrial needs. However, if students are creating a supply of labour that exceeds demand, they are reinforcing the conditions for their own unemployment and the possibility of their product (their talents) being appropriated and exploited by others. Since unemployment prevents students from working in their chosen profession, they would be "forced" to find work outside their fields to provide for their "means of subsistence".

Assuming this is true, according to Marx's arguement,

the term "alienated labour" describes any other work students are "forced" into by unemployment. Because students would have to do work which is "imposed from without", i.e., for money to survive, they would neither control their product nor their productive activity. In other words, if unemployment prevents students finding jobs in their professions, they will work as alienated labour, or in Israel's terms, "production factors", in the "total process of production".

Therefore, from Israel's perspective it is understandable that students, as consumers of education, "package" themselves as commodities to work in a chosen field and that unemployment could lead to their alienation from their own product. Although on the societal level, unemployment reinforces alienation from product, on the psychological level, unemployment would influence the individual's consciousness and create "states of alienation" defined as powerlessness, meaninglessness and social isolation.

Overall, results confirmed the hypothesis that expectation of unemployment lead to alienation. In all three measures of alienation; total alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness; the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation is direct with significance reached at the .05 level or better. However, significance was not reached at .05 for the relationship between expectancy of unemployment and social isolation.

Thus it appears that the Marxian theory of reification can provide a base for empirically formalizing the concept of alienation i.e., that an objective condition like unemployment causes alienation. In this study, not only do students who expect unemployment perceive reification as indicated by their total alienation scores but also feel that they lack control over outcomes regarding future unemployment as indicated by their powerlessness scores. Nor do many students comprehend market forces of supply and demand in terms of their meaninglessness scores. Although students may feel alienated in that they will have to find any type of job in order to survive, contrary to Israel's theory results in this study show that unemployment would not lead to isolation. In this case, either a relationship between unemployment and social isolation does not exist or the scale used in this study was not sensitive to the isolation students would experience from being isolated from professionals in their chosen profession who could "fashion" a student entering their career. In any case, further research is needed to clarify this relationship.

Practical Implications of the Research

The results in this study show that the main form of alienation experienced from perceived unemployment by students preparing for careers in industry is powerlessness. Although not all of the findings reached significance, the data from this study, as well as past

research and theory, suggest that unemployment predisposes certain groups of individuals to alienation, especially powerlessness, if opportunities are blocked to work in a chosen profession. This has implications for administrators who initiate programs at the post-secondary level with the aim of decreasing alienation among youth who will be graduating and entering careers in industry.

Universities "ought to" provide students with career programs and process that decrease alienation for those who are using educational means for achieving their occupational goals. If the goal of university is to open the horizons of thought for students so they can control their own economic and social destiny, both the Education and the Business sector should aim to provide training which meets the needs of students and the industrial sector. Although this may require imposing quotas on certain faculties and/or career counselling, it would benefit students so they do not burden themselves financially and/or with training which results in unemployment. Such an objective would increase chances of employment among graduates and enable individuals to develop their fullest potentials and attain self-realization.

Theory, past research, and the direction of the findings in this study suggest that the Marxian theory of reification can provide the bases for empirical research to decrease alienation in our "commodity driven" society.

Through empirical studies insight be gained into the relationship between alienation experienced and possible future social pathologies, i.e., adaptations or reactions, in store for the unemployed. Only by multiplication of such studies can predictability can be attained and programs and processes be implemented to decrease alienation among students embarking on careers.

Directions For Further Research

Although not all hypotheses were confirmed in this study, further research into the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation is necessary to validate reification theory. Only through replication and multiplication of the present study can the conditions under which alienation occurs from unemployment or properties of the sample on which results are based, be specified.

One area which limits the validity of the finding concerns the size of the sample used in this study. Upon completing data analysis with controls, small frequencies were encountered especially for age, mother's and father's occupation. Since statistical analysis required 18 cells, empty cells resulted in a number of other cells where only 1-3 individuals were found. By increasing sample size i.e., from 215 used in this study to 500, the problem of small frequencies could be eliminated and discussion of these variables could focus more on statistical

significance in view of contributing to the research literature.

To date, no research has been done on the relationship between unemployment and alienation with a university student sample. Since only two faculties were used in this study, external validity of the findings is limited. If the number of faculties would be increased to include a broader spectrum of students then the degree expectations of unemployment cause alienation for students in other faculties, could be specified.

Since this study was exploratory, only χ^2 analysis was used to determine to what degree the relationship between expectation of unemployment and alienation is significant. Now that the results statistically confirm the hypotheses, more sophisticated tests could used i.e., one and two-way analysis of variance (Anova), to find out the degree that independent variable(s), expectation of unemployment, faculty, age, sex, mother's/father's occupation, explain variation in the dependent variable, alienation.

Results show that greater proportions of students scored high on powerlessness as the main form of alienation experienced from unemployment. Of the sample, females experienced alienation, especially powerlessness, to a greater degree than males. In this case, further analysis is needed to find out why greater proportions of female students experience powerlessness from expecting high

unemployment. Specifically, the underlying causes which lead to higher levels of alienation for women need to be specified if women are to assume efficacious roles in business. This could lead to new possibilities for programs in universities that could decrease powerlessness among women who plan to work in industry.

Results in this study show that professional parents children expect low unemployment and experience low alienation. Research into why this is true for these students could focus on factors such as familial socialization, network ties among professional parents, parental support, and types of schooling provided for professional parents children, to name a few. These studies could reveal insights and directions for policies and curriculum which could decrease alienation levels among students of skilled or unskilled parents.

Longitudinal studies are scarce and are needed to disentangle the consequences of unemployment. Specifically, studies are needed to find out the effects of unemployment on students who experience long durations of unemployment in their chosen fields. Some studies show that as the duration of unemployment increased, psychological deterioration occured. For instance, Gurney (1980) found that long durations of unemployment for girls, led to increased powerlessness, while O'Brien & Kabanoff (1979) found that both females and males decreased their

desire to control outcomes regarding work. Furthermore, where Warr & Jackson (1984) found that prolonged unemployment was significantly associated with low psychological health during unemployment, one can only speculate as to whether such consequences subside after the individual is able to obtain a job or persist if the opportunities provided by a job are denied for a sufficiently long period of time, resulting in permanent psychological damage.

Time series analysis could be used to study unemployment and its effect as alienation on new entrants to the labor market. Stack's (1984) research shows that as the duration of unemployment increased for new entrants social isolation from peers, relatives and the community occured which in the end resulted in suicide. His conclusions, based on analysis of a thirty year period, is that the suicide is increasing as capitalist society is increasingly becoming more industrialized and specialized. If Stack's study is indicative of the consequences, this has implications for students who are about to enter certain professions where high unemployment exists and for researchers who have yet to specify the long term consequences of being unemployed for university students.

A combination of many approaches could be used so that the relationship between unemployment and alienation could be made more amendable to sharp empirical statement. Although there are many questions to be answered by

researchers about unemployment and its impact as alienation, this may be desirable so that students embarking on careers through post-secondary institutions may have the benefit of making practical choices with regards to their chosen professions.

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APPENDIX

UNEMPLOYMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

UNEMPLOYMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Unemployment is one of the most important problems facing young adults today. On the following pages a number of statements about unemployment, work, and success are presented about which there is no general agreement. My purpose is to gather information regarding the impact unemployment has on student attitudes.

You will notice that their are no correct or incorrect answers to many of the questions. I am only interested in your honest opinion of them. **READ EACH ITEM CAREFULLY AND CHECK THE RESPONSE THAT BEST EXPRESSES YOUR FEELING ABOUT THE STATEMENT.** Do not spend much time on any item. **WORK RAPIDLY.** Be sure to answer every item. Your responses will remain completely confidential. Thank-you for your cooperation.

PART I

Please Provide the following information about yourself.

1. (check one) MALE ____ FEMALE ___. 2 . AGE: (specify) ___.

3. Marital status: (check one)

__ SINGLE __ MARRIED __ DIVORCED __ SEPARATED __ WIDOWED

4. Do you have any children? (specify how many) _____.

5. Educational History:

FACULTY____ EXPECTED DEGREE ____ SPECIALIZATION____.

YEAR OF PROGRAM ___.

6. Do you have any other degree? (check one)

___ YES (specify)* _____.

___ NO

7. Occupational History Of Your Parents:

What were the main occupations of your father and your mother while you were growing up? (specify)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION _____.

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION _____.

Now let me ask you some questions which deal with employment prospects in your chosen profession. Wherever possible let your own experience determine your answer. If in doubt, give your best estimate.

8. What do you think your chances are of finding employment in your chosen profession after graduation? (check one)

   a) __ EXCELLENT
   b) __ GOOD
   c) __ FAIR
   d) __ POOR
   e) __ VERY POOR

9. What do you think your chances will be of being employed in your chosen profession five years from now? (check one)

   a) __ EXCELLENT
   b) __ GOOD
   c) __ FAIR
   d) __ POOR
   e) __ VERY POOR

10. Can you estimate the present level of unemployment of new graduates in your chosen profession? (Write your estimate in the blank)

    _____ PERCENT

Now let me ask you some questions about success in life and work

11. Check the statement that best describes what success in life means for you.

    a) ___ acquiring a job in my profession.
    b) ___ acquiring knowledge of events upon which my life and happiness depend
    c) ___ acquiring control over my economic destiny
    d) ___ acquiring status, power and prestige
    e) ___ acquiring friends and getting along with others.

12. What factor do you think would interfere most with your becoming successful in life? (check one)

    a) ___ marriage
    b) ___ having children
    c) ___ the friends I keep
    d) ___ a lack of money for higher education pursuits
    e) ___ a lack of information about the goals and aims of industry
    f) ___ not knowing people who could help in making important career decisions

13. What do you think is most important for success in work? (check one)

a) ___ determination, persistence and driving ambition

b) ___ getting the "right breaks" and "good luck"

c) ___ having social relations with others who "know the ropes and how to use them"

d) ___ understanding the purpose and meaning of work

14. Check the type of work environment in which you think you would prefer to work.

a) ___ in a group, sharing the responsibility and credit that comes with work.

b) ___ alone, taking the individual responsibility and credit that comes with work.

15. If by some chance you inherited enough money to live comfortably without working in your chosen profession, do you think you would want to work? (check one)

a) __ YES

b) __ YES BUT ONLY PART-TIME

c) __ NO

16. Check the statement that best describes why you chose your particular profession.

a) __ it is a profession with high social status

b) __ the people in the profession are individuals I would like to associate with

c) __ it is a profession that will give me the income to buy things I want

d) __ it is a profession that will give me control and understanding of events upon which my life and happiness depend

e) __ it is a profession in which I am sure of getting employment

f) __ it is an interesting and challenging profession

g) __ it is a profession that will contribute to society's well-being

17. Check the statement which describes how you would feel if you are not able to work in your chosen field.

a) __ helpless

b) __ angry at the government

c) __ cheated by educational planners

d) __ dismal about the future

18. Check the statement that most accurately describes what would you miss most if you are not able to find work in your chosen profession?

a) __ a feeling of accomplishment, of doing something important

b) __ a feeling of belonging, being part of something

c) __ a feeling of being separated from the kind of work I want to do.

d) __ a feeling of being isolated from the people, friends, contacts I know in my chosen profession

e) __ the possibility of unlimited earnings

PART II

The following pages contain a number of opinion type statements. People differ widely in the way they feel about each item. There are no right answers. The purpose of the survey is to see how different groups feel about each item. I would like to determine how you feel about these statements by having you check the appropriate response corresponding to your judgement of each as they stand.

READ EACH ITEM CAREFULLY. WORK RAPIDLY. Be sure to answer every item. To indicate your opinion of a statement, **please check ONE box** corresponding to the category that best describes your view, as follows:

SA **(STRONGLY AGREE)** A **(AGREE)** U **(UNCERTAIN)**

___ ___ ___.

D **(DISAGREE)** SD **(STRONGLY DISAGREE)**

___ ___.

1. I worry about the future facing today's children.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

2. Sometimes I have the feeling other people are using me.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

3. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

4. There is little or nothing I can do about preventing a major "shooting war".

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

5. There are so many decisions to be made today that sometimes I could just blow up.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

6. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.

___SA ___A ___U ___D ___SD

7. We are so regimented today that there is not much room for choice even in personal matters.

___SA ___A ___U __D ___SD

8. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.

___SA ___A ___U __D ___SD

9. The future looks very dismal.

___SA ___A ___U __D ___SD

10. There is little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.

___SA ___A ___U __D ___SD

11. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

___SA ___A ___U __D ___SD

12. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

___SA ___A ___U __D ___SD

13. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

___SA ___A ___U __D ___SD

14. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

___SA ___A ___U __D ___SD

PART III

Below are some statements regarding common cultural values and practices found in society today. Please indicate your personal opinion about each statement by **checking** the appropriate blank.

1. Do you vote in national elections? Yes ___ No ___.

2. Do you enjoy T.V.? Yes ___ No ___.

3. Do you approve of the new model North American automobiles? Yes ___ No ___.

4. Do you read "McLeans", "People", or "Vogue" magazine? Yes ___ No ___.

5. Were you interested in the most recent national elections? Yes ___ No ___.

6. Do you think children are generally a nuisance to their parents? Yes ___ No ___.

7. Are you interested in having children? Yes ___ No ___.

8. Do you like to participate in religeous activities? Yes ___ No ___.

9. Do national spectator-sports (football, baseball, hockey) interest you? Yes ___ No ___.

10. Do you think most married people lead trapped (frustrated) lives? Yes ___ No ___.

11. Do you think you could just as easily live in another society - past or present? Yes ___ No ___.

12. Do you think most politicians are sincerely interested in the public's welfare? Yes ___ No ___.

13. Do you think religion is mostly myth or mostly truth? Myth ___ Truth ___.

14. "Life, as most people live it is meaningless." True ___ False ___.

15. For yourself, assuming you could carry out your decision or do things over again do you think a single life or married life would be the more satisfactory? Single ___ Married ___.

16. Do you believe human life is an expression of a divine purpose, or is it only the result of chance and evolution? Divine purpose ___ Evolution ___.

17. "Most people live lives of quiet desperation." True ___ False ___.